FBIS DAILY REPORT

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MLADENOV, GENSCHER DISCUSS DISARMAMENT, TRADE

AU080919 Sofia BTA in English 0800 GMT 8 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA) -- The official talks between Mr. Petur Mladenov, foreign minister of Bulgaria and Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and federal minister for foreign affairs of the F.R.G. who arrived here yesterday morning continued in the afternoon. The talks discussed issues of the international situation and of the bilateral cooperation.

The two ministers expressed the opinion that the situation in the world and in Europe in particular continues to be aggravated and that there still exists a threat to peace, in spite of the positive aspects in the development of the East-West relations in the last few months.

Mr. Petur Mladenov outlined the well-grounded stand of the Bulgarian Government that the tension in the international field is a direct consequence of the arms race especially in the sphere of nuclear weapons. The leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy expressed Bulgaria's great concern over the plans of the U.S. Administration to launch this race into a "space orbit", i.e. to militarize space. He stressed that the arms race course is pursued with the aim of achieving military and strategic superiority over the U.S.S.R. and the other Warsaw Treaty member countries. According to Mr. Petur Mladenov the development of events so far has shown that the socialist community will not allow the existing balance to be disturbed and that in spite of everything this balance still exists but unfortunately at a higher and therefore more dangerous level.

Further on Mr. Petur Mladenov said that Washington's course towards achieving military superiority leads to decreasing confidence between the states, to limiting international cooperation, to stopping the process of detente and that it threatens security and world peace.

The Bulgarian foreign minister stressed that Bulgaria's stand on the reasons and consequences of the development of the new U.S. first strike weapons on the territory of some West European NATO-member countries including on the territory of the FRG remains unchanged, unchanged is also her negative attitude to these activities.

Mr. Petur Mladenov (?said that) the only way out of this grave situation is the sincere, constructive and honest dialogue based on the principles of equality and equal security on the consideration on the interests of all partners and on the rejection of the strive towards military superiority. The observation of these logical requirements, he added is necessary in conducting all talks, including the most important ones -- talks on the issues of disarmament. In this connection the leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy once again stressed that the Bulgarian people and their government welcome the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva which will be qualitatively new talks in the sphere of disarmament. At the talks the complex approach should be strictly observed in resolving the interrelated issues of space and nuclear weapons.

Only thus, Mr. Petur Mladenov stressed, only by strictly observing all parts of the agreement reached as regards the subject and the aims of the talks can positive results be achieved. If the talks are blocked in one of their parts than progress will be made impossible. The leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy said that Bulgaria cannot but be concerned over the Washington's approach to the talks with the USSR, by its attempts to shift their aim and subject, as well as by its overt plans to militarize space.

Mr. Petur Mladenov said that Bulgaria is also alarmed by the attitude to these plans of some other NATO-member countries, including by that of the FRG. If the Federal Republic renders political support to the U.S. efforts to militarize space and takes part in the so called "scientific research work" in the development of "star war weapons" then it would be undertaking a serious responsibility. We would like, Mr. Petur Mladenov said, Bonn and the other Western capitals to show a realism and political foresight on this vital for peace issue in order to avert the turning of space into firing grounds for waging nuclear wars and in order to avert the beginning of an uncontrollable round in the arms race.

Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the West German Government is for disarmament and that it is intereseted in the resolution of the issues related to the medium range nuclear missiles. He welcomed the Soviet-U.S. dialogue which started last autumn, and the agreement reached on January 8 1985 between Mr. Andrey Gromyko and Mr. George Shultz. The distinguished guest stressed the significance of the Soviet-U.S. talks which are to start on March 12, he stressed their broad basis and evaluated them as talks with new dimensions. Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher pointed out that the talks should be conducted on the complex of nuclear and space weapons. Further on he devoted attention to the issues of conventional weapons and dwelled on the state of the Vienna talks. The West German foreign minister evaluated the new proposal put forward by the socialist states on February 14 as interesting. In his turn Minister Petur Mladenov stressed that a considerable result could be achieved at the talks in the Austrian capital if the West uses the potential of these initiatives.

Dwelling on the Stockholm conference the two foreign ministers stressed the certain progress which was recently made in the work of this forum. Mr. Petur Mladenov spoke of the paramount importance of the proposal for concluding a treaty for the non-use of force and for maintaining peaceful relations. The realization of this idea he stressed would greatly contribute to consolidating trust and to positive changes in the East-West relations in particular and in the international relations as a whole. The Bulgarian side stressed the necessity for the Stockholm conference to adopt wide-ranging political confidence building measures, combined with measures of military and technical nature which would actually contribute to establishing a climate of trust between the states; Bulgaria would like the Stockholm conference to be a worthy continuation of the Helsinki spirit.

Touching on the forthcoming 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act Mr. Petur Mladenov and Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed the opinion that this jubilee should be marked on its merits in conformity with the international relations at present.

Mr. Petur Mladenov pointed out that the tense situation in Europe continues not only as a result of the deployment of the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles but also as a result of the attempts of some circles in the West, including ir the FRG, to question the territorial and political realities on the continent, existing on the basis of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and the post-war development. The attempts to torpedo the status quo in Europe and to cast doubt on the final character of the post-war frontiers impede the efforts towards a constructive dialogue and the continuation of the process of detente.

The forthcoming celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazism and Japanese militarism must be an occasion for some to remember and for some to reconsider the lessons of the Second World War, Mr. Petur Mladenov said.

The leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy explained in detail the numerous constructive proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and of the Soviet Union made unilaterally which are directed towards stopping the arms race and towards adopting wide scale measures for disarmament and continuing the policy of detente.

On this part Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed that all states including the small ones must direct their efforts towards consolidating trust between the East and the West. He stressed the influence which the good relations between separate countries have on the all-round political atmosphere. By way of illustration the guest pointed to the relations between Bulgaria and the F.R.G.

The leader of the West German diplomacy expressed the opinion that technological development at present in the military and civil sphere open up new possibilities for talks and for seeking new forms of cooperation on international scale.

The talks discussed the bilateral relations in various spheres. The two parties to the talks expressed the unanimous opinion that these relations are developing positively, normally and without problems. This evaluation also refers to the political sphere. The two parties to the talks stressed the fruitfulness of meetings between members of the governments and expressed satisfaction with the cooperation between the parliaments. Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed the importance which the forthcoming visit to the FRG of a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation headed by the chairman of the National Assembly Mr. Stanko Todorov will have in the further promotion of these relations.

The two parties to the talks welcomed the continuing inter-party contacts and reaffirmed their positive assessment of the annual political consultations.

Economic cooperation was evaluated as positive and dynamically developing. The two ministers devoted attention to the necessity for measures to be taken for encouraging and balancing bilateral commodity turnover and for increasing Bulgarian export. They expressed the common wish to conclude before long the talks related to the agreement for mutual encouragement and protection of investments and for eliminating the levying of double duties on goods.

The two ministers discussed in detail the state of cultural exchange and assessed it as good and contributing to the better acquaintance of the two peoples.

Tomorrow the talks continue.

[Hamburg DPA in German at 1717 GMT on 7 March adds: "According to those accompanying the German minister, Genscher and Mladenov stressed the good cooperation between Bonn and Sofia in combating the trade in narcotics. Following the U.S. accusation that official Bulgarian authorities protect the organized smuggling of narcotics, this harmony surprised political observers."]

ZHIVKOV, OTHER LEADERS AT WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION

AU071826 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1600 GMT on 7 March carried a live relay from Sofia's Ivan Vasov National Theater on the occasion of International Women's Day. At the beginning of the live relay the announcer said that Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, is among the officials present at the festive meeting. The meeting was organized by the International Women's Committee, the Sofia City BCP Committee, the Fatherland Front Central Council, and other public institutions.

The meeting was opened by Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, who gave the floor to Syika Neykova, member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the Fatherland Front Central Council, who began her speech at 1605 GMT.

She started her speech by describing the establishment of the International Women's Federation and the historical background of this event, as well as by dwelling on the role of Bulgarian women in the past and present. The speaker went on to praise the Bulgarian Government and the BCP for granting women all the privileges and rights they enjoy in Bulgaria today, quoting from Zhivkov's speeches on the subject of women's involvement in socialist construction. The speaker further dwelled on the economic achievements of Bulgaria and the advantages they produce for women and the family, stressing the role of women as mother of the patriotic and socialist family, and then proceeded to speak on the problems of peace and the international situation. She paid tribute to Soviet women and to the victims of World War II, expressing gratitude to the Bulgarian People's Army and all soldiers who fought for the freedom of mankind. She accused "bourgeois ideologists" of distorting history and blames "North American imperialism" for striving to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries. Neykova praised the peace movement throughout the world, in which the Bulgarian women's movement actively participates by attending various international forums and initiatives in this sector. Bulgarian women also strive for the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, Neykova said. Her speech was frequently interrupted by applause. At the end of her speech Neykova pledged to Zhivkov and to the party that Bulgarian women will do everything within their power to contribute to "the new age" and to the struggle for peace. The speech ended at 1630 GMT.

The floor was then given to an employee from the National Bank to read telegrams addressed by the meeting to the International Democratic Women's Federation in Berlin and to the BCP Central Committee, pledging loyalty to the party and government.

The live relay ended at 1644 GMT.

The following leaders are reported as attending: Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Ognyan Doynov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Grigor Stoichkov, Stanish Bonev, Stoyan Karadzhov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, and Emil Khristov.

AXEN TALKS WITH HUSAK, BILAK 'CORDIAL, COMRADELY'

LD072124 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee, arrived in Prague today for a short working visit at the invitation of the CPC Central Committee.

Talks were held at the CPCZ Central Committee between Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Hermann Axen.

Comrade Hermann Axen was received by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic. During the cordial, comradely conversation some questions of mutual relations between the two fraternal parties and countries, which are developing successfully in the spirit of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 10th SED Congress, and also topical problems of the present situation in the world and in the international communist and workers' movement were discussed.

HUSAK ADDRESSES INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY MEETING

LD071449 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received a 300-member delegation of Czechoslovak women led by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union, in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle today to mark International Women's Day.

Also present at this traditional reception were Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; the following members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; Vasil Bilak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, and Jozef Lenart; Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, and Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the Party Central Committee Presidium; Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the party Central Committee; and Zdenek Horeni, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. Also in attendance were directors of party Central Committee departments, federal deputy premiers, and members of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

Comrade Gustav Husak thanked the women for the way they enrich and help build the life of our people, and the way they contribute to the prosperity of our state. He paid particular tribute to the devoted and diligent work they carry out every day in all spheres of life in our socialist society. He noted our women's purposeful support for the policy of the CPCZ and National Front, which is reliably ensuring political stability; economic, social, and cultural advancement; and peaceful and contented life in our country.

Later in his speech he recalled that this year we are celebrating International Women's Day on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism, the culmination of the national liberation struggle, and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army. In this context he pointed out the important part played by women in the national liberation struggle, in the resistance at home and abroad, in the Slovak national uprising, and in the May uprising of the Czech people.

Comrade Gustav Husak also referred to the maternal role of women and to their part in bringing up the young generation to be mentally and physically capable and morally strong, which is the main prerequisite for the future of our country.

We want women to have more time for leisure and children, to participate in public life, and to further their education, and we wish to see greater harmonization between their work activities and family commitments, said Comrade Gustav Husak, going on to point out the problems and shortcomings which women still criticize. He declared that we will continue to improve the economic, social, and cultural prerequisites necessary for women to achieve self-fulfillment and for their situation to be eased. We see the further development and advancement of socialist society as the main way of achieving these goals.

Concluding his address to the delegation of Czechoslovak women at Prague Castle, Comrade Gustav Husak reminded them of the need to struggle to preserve peace, and gave the assurance that our party and state leadership will continue to ensure above all that the security and peaceful life of our homeland is reliably guaranteed.

HOSTILE IDEOLOGY, DECADENCE SEEN INFILTRATING ARTS

AU071251 Prague TRIBUNA No 9 in Czech 27 Feb 85 p 3

[Frantisek Kudrna article: "About Humanism, Brute Force, and Education"]

[Excerpts] Unethical human attitudes were formed during the centuries of man's existence under exploitative systems. No wonder they reappear again and again; no wonder they endure and persevere.

Furthermore the socialist world continues to be surrounded by the world of exploitation and violence of every kind. In today's highly technical civilization, state borders present no obstacle to the penetration of its influence.

Even in our country we can thus encounter violence, and even murder. Diverse features of the anti-human ethics of the exploitative systems, especially efforts to enrich oneself at the expense of others and to the detriment of the rest of society, still survive in people's minds. We are familiar with the slogan of our petty bourgeoisie: "He who does not steal, steals from his family."

In his quest for mammon and "status," the petty bourgeoisie man has always and everywhere been willing to do evil, stopping at nothing, not even killing. And this very same petty bourgeoisie man is at the same time, the most severe and "principled" critic of life around him, the most eloquent humanitarian and defender of "human rights." In reality, however, the only thing in which he is interested is possessing the most and standing above everyone else. As for anyone else, he could not care less. He doesn't give a damn that elsewhere people are starving to death ("Why should I help them?") or that there is a war raging somewhere ("What do I care, let them put their house in order"] When revolution is on the rise, he is the greatest revolutionary (to attract attention and to profit from it as much as possible). When revolution is on the retreat, however, when it encounters problems, he is, at first, among the greatest panic-mongers and then among its most savage critics, among those who terrorize and torture the revolutionaries....

The struggle against anti-social phenomena and elements does not only concern educators. Its basis is formed by implementation of the ideals of social justice in society as a whole. Naturally, an irreplaceable role in this process is also played by the arts or, as we call it, the "cultural front." Its main current, in the world as well as in Czechoslovakia, has always been engagement in the struggle for a better society marked by social and national justice. Great art has always sided with progress and man's noble qualities. The purpose of art is, after all, to elevate man and not to tread him down.

It is no coincidence that in capitalist and socialist states alike, genuine art and true artists of today speak out, spontaneously or purposefully, against decadence, passivity, despondency, and violence -- all typical products of contemporary capitalism.

But let us not delude ourselves into believing that a wall of iron separates us from that world. Moreover, "works of art" providing, apart from violence, also suspense, which appeals to primitive instincts, are frequently very popular with readers and audiences. For some people working in this area, this popularity regrettably becomes the main argument: "People want this sort of thing."

What we want, however, is to produce advocates of communism and a world free of violence, streams of blood, and weapons! We must not give in to improvization or pandering to the "box office"! If we do, we will betray ourselves! Let us therefore rightly ask who it is that seeks to foist upon us such bankrupt morals, and why?

Yes, I already hear the objections: Why use such strong words? It cannot be as bad as that.

And What About Detective Stories?

I think everything that in one way or another propagates morals that are incompatible with socialism is bad. Such propagation can be indirect and, I concede, even unintentional. Let us have a look at some detective stories. I may be mistaken, but I believe that a socialist detective story must side with work, justice, and socialist morals. To simplify the whole matter, the meaning conveyed by it should be that, in the end, justice always prevails and triumphs over brute force and antisocial conduct. (Of course, even such detective stories may be written well or poorly, but that is a different matter).

Unfortunately, not everyone who prints detective stories or who puts them on stage follows these standards. We are thus witnesses to plays in which the criminal is detected only because he made a slight mistake. (Next time, if you are more careful you will get away with it).

This would not even be that bad. But we publish, and put on stage, even detective stories in which the criminal is allowed to wreak havoc and, because he is clever, remain undetected. What is the educational lesson to be drawn from such a detective story? And who is supposed to be inspired by it?

Or: What is the aim pursued by the author and director of the film in which the criminals on the screen for tens of minutes torture their victim who, they are convinced, knows where their dead accomplice in the robbery hid the loot. For tens of minutes, the audience is made to watch three men beat a woman, hold her head under water, choke her, and so forth.

Equally socially dangerous are works of Western make which, though showing the rottenness of justice in the West, provide a way out by having "someone" (a policeman or detective) take justice "into his own hands," including killing members of criminal gangs. If every man were to take "his" justice into his own hands, we would end up with a jungle. We should not propagate such "philosophy"!

I think, in general, that far too much western rubbish (in literary or film form) is published here because it supposedly "eloquently exposes Western morals." But it can also be said that over publicizing such corruption eloquently propagates it! Or do we think that there is no one in our country who craves Mammon at any price? And, on the other hand, is it perhaps an accident that, under various pretexts, capitalist states impede the export of our films (even comedies) and do not permit publication of the works of socialist authors?

I think what Y. Lukin wrote in the 16 April 1984 issue of the CPSU Central Committee's journal SOVETSKAYA KULTURA also applies to our country: "It is alarming that in the last few years film distribution bodies have been presenting here foregin films which artistically portray cruelty, brute force, and spiritual emptiness."

As to our arts, I fully agree with that which Comrade Vojtech Trapl wrote in RUDE PRAVO on 8 May 1984: "Let us be sincere and frank in saying that all the delving and burrowing in the ugly aspects of life -- in lasciviousness, despondency, and hopelessness -- scarcely contribute to development of the human personality. Works of art ending with pessimistic and skeptical questions, which are so fashionable nowadays, only confuse the reader or viewer. Although it is our duty to profoundly analyze intricate situations in life, we must accurately differentiate between that which is typically negative and doomed to perish and that which, being typically positive, will inevitably triumph, albeit after a tenacious struggle."

The ideologues of imperialism portray themselves as defenders of humanism and human rights. In doing so, they try to force upon the socialist world the norms and yardsticks of a way of life that is alien to it and to undermine lofty humanitarian ideals without which life itself and people's activity become meaningless. They would like to spread the habits and tastes prevailing in bourgeois society, influence people's minds, and make people responsive to petit bourgeois ideas, superficial and empty decoys, individualism, petit bourgeois greed, and the surrender of ideological as well as cultural conviction.

It is up to us whether they succeed in doing so. What is needed under these circumstances is, more than ever before, adherence to party principles, a consistent class approach to the evaluation of events and phenomena, political vigilance, and irreconcilability toward views and morals that are alien to us.

STROUGAL RECEIVES SWEDISH PARLIAMENT HEAD

LD080014 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Hrzan Palace in Prague today a Swedish parliamentary delegation, led by Riksdag Speaker Ingemund Bengtsson, which is on an official visit to Czechoslovakia. During the discussion he welcomed the visit of the Swedish Riksdag delegation as a further important step toward the development of political, economic, and cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Sweden. He informed the guests about the main tasks of the national economy, stressing that Czechoslovakia is interested in the dynamic deepening of economic cooperation, which should include not only a broader exchange of goods but also production cooperation and coordination in third markets.

Swedish Riksdag Speaker Ingemund Bengtsson on behalf of the deputies thanked Lubomir Strougal for the friendly reception and expressed confidence that favorable conditions will continue to be created for the intensification of relations between the two countries.

Karl-Wilhelm Wohler, ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden to Czechoslovakia, hosted in Prague today a reception in honor of the Swedish Riksdag delegation.

DAILY CITES HUNGARY'S ROSKA ON PACT DIFFERENCES

AU071723 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Mar 85 p 5

[Text] Budapest (ADN) -- Under the headline "Socialist World System -- Hungarian Diplomacy," the Hungarian trade union paper NEPSZAVA published an interview with the deputy foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, Istvan Roska. Among other things, it states:

Roska: Among the member-states of the Warsaw Pact there is agreement in principle to extend the validity of the Warsaw Pact for another period. The representatives of the member-states have begun the direct preparations for this extension. If I wanted to state briefly the most urgent tasks of the Warsaw Pact member-states, I would say the following: to struggle to avert the nuclear danger and to strengthen peace. Today there is no more important task.

Question: Did our alliance system succeed in achieving the proper level of tolerance which is in fact indispensable for ensuring that differences do not become obstacles to development [entwicklung]?

Roska: In answering this question we must proceed from the fact that the Warsaw Pact consists of socialist states that represent common principles and whose fundamental interests and aims are identical. They also take into account the law-governing features of building socialism and the concrete situation, the conditions, and the particularities of their countries. One must add that the member-countries are independent and sovereign countries that, without exception, respect the principle of noninterference in internal affairs. From all this it follows that our system of alliance is characterized by the constructive cooperation of voluntarily united sovereign states.

Of course, that does not exclude debates [diskussionen]. However, agreement is only possible by taking current [gegenwaertig] interests into account. The documents of the Warsaw Pact were published. They reflect the view of the member-states coordinated by general agreement. And that is the essential point.

The other aspect of the question refers to differences in political practice, in the socialist countries' methods of socialist construction. Your question also contained the explanation for that, that the conditions of the countries are different. He who bases himself on realities accepts these differences and does not regard them as an "aberration." This view is increasingly becoming a matter of course [wird immer selbstverst. ndlicher] in the relations of socialist countries. And this promotes mutual interest rather than debates.

RETURNEES WITH CHILDREN GIVEN PRIORITY

LD071402 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1223 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Berlin, 7 Mar (ADN) -- To mark the 40th anniversary of the liberation, the relevant state organs of the German Democratic Republic have decided that when considering applications from former GDR citizens who want to return to the German Democratic Republic, applications from families with children will be given priority. They will proceed on the principle that the affected children and young people should not, through no fault of their own, be exposed to life under capitalism. In allowing applications, there will be no entitlement to homes that were formerly occupied.

BERLIN TV VIEWS NATO'S 'FORWARD STRATEGY'

DW071249 East Berlin Television Service in German 1800 GMT 4 Mar 85

[Helmut Finger and Rainer Burkhardt report over video clips from FRG television showing AWACS planes aloft and NATO ground exercises, from the "Radar" military magazine program]

[Text] When this Boeing E3A takes off from its operations base at Geilenkirchen, North Rhine-Westphalia, it invariably heads eastward. The 17-man crew calls this course NATO frontline, as though it were at war. It is a patrol flight along the borders of socialism. With the aircraft's oversized radar eye, the crew engages in reconnaissance 400 km into Warsaw Pact air space.

A depth of 400 km is also visualized by General Rogers, the NATO supreme commander, for a preventive strike to destroy the Warsaw Pact's entire defensive system. This is his plan, and it was adopted by NATO as a long-term guideline in December.

What Rogers' idea amounts to is perfected forward strategy. Simultaneously with the first border battles, NATO is to strike deep into the hinterland against Warsaw Pact troops rushing up to help. This is why the Rogers plan is called Follow-on Forces Attack [FOFA]. It is tantamount to a blitzkrieg that is to clear a 400-km strip for a NATO invasion within a short period of time.

The general anticipates success from new weapons systems with computer intelligence, from submunition [as heard] that automatically seeks its targets, from flying sensors that immediately transmit their data to missiles in flight and from means of delivery that so far have carried only nuclear warheads. This will cost the West Europeans further billions because they believe that these sophisticated conventional weapons will deliver them from the fear of nuclear warfare. The decapitation strikes are to be made deep in the East, far away from their doorstep. War would again become a veritable recreational exercise.

[Begin FRG television narrative] To destroy 60 percent of a Soviet division, 2,500 successful air raids are required if conventional 250-kg bombs are used; it takes 300 successful air strikes if submunition without terminal guidance is used; and, if submunition with terminal guidance is used, a mere 50-60 successful air strikes are needed. [end narrative]

AWACS, NATO's flying eye, is already in keeping with Rogers' concept of waging war. Corresponding to an army staff equipped with the most modern means, the 18th AWACS units will be ready for NATO use before the end of this year. AWACS not only picks up air and naval targets, it also guides fighters and fighter bombers to these targets and conducts reconnaissance of the first-strike targets for the U.S. Pershing missiles. The Rogers plan is an attempt to destroy the military balance in Europe. According to the calculations of NATO planners, among other things, the following is required: some 5,900 conventional missiles carrying submunition for the destruction of the 30-40 most important military airfields, transport centers, and crossing points on the Elbe, Saale, Oder, Vltava, and Vistula rivers, as well as for the attack against the Warsaw Pack ground forces deep in their territory.

What we see here are Pershing II missiles on the road in the Schwaebisch Alp region. Within 30 minutes, they can be ready for use against the targets pinpointed by AWACS. When fired, they will not carry any conventional submunition.

Here is a quotation from U.S. Field Manual FM 100-5: With adequate support from nuclear or chemical weapons, the exploitation of the attack's success can begin shortly after it begins. What does the supreme commander of West Europe's armies think?

[Begin Rogers recording with superimposed German translation; from FRG television] Whether we like it or not, we are in a position today -- and I am saying this with full responsibility -- where we will have to resort to the use of nuclear weapons rather soon in the event of a conventional attack sometime in the future. [end recording]

Thus, there is no difference between Rogers' FoFA plan and the Pentagon strategy of total confrontation. They want to let fly with border battles and deep strikes into Pact forces, and in so doing seek the escalation of the war up to a nuclear inferno. To the Pentagon, Europe is the most important theater of war, and the Rogers plan is but the European variant of the operational concept of the Defense Department in Washington. The Pentagon views its plans as a concept that can be applied worldwide.

The espionage information provided by AWACS serve to prepare the extended battlefield, be it in the Middle East, the Caribbean, off the Falkland Islands, or in Europe. However, the crews reportedly feel uneasy because their huge aircraft is big and slow and therefore provides a good target for interceptors and air defense missiles.

PEOPLE'S CHAMBER NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETS

AU071345 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] Erfurt (ADN) -- On Tuesday, 5 March, the GDR People's Chamber Committee for National Defense held a meeting in Erfurt. The meeting, which was part of the preparations for the 11th SED Congress, was chaired by Paul Verner, chairman of the Committee for National Defense.

The deputies of the highest people's assembly heard the report of the Erfurt Bezirk Commission for Socialist Defense Education, delivered by Heinz Hartmann, deputy chairman of the Erfurt Bezirk Council for Internal Affairs.

In the report and discussion much attention was paid to the demand of the ninth SED Central Committee meeting to wage a resolute struggle to ward off the danger of a nuclear war and halt the arms race, and to again clear the path for international detente and peaceful cooperation. It was particularly stressed that revolutionary experience has shown that the protection of the power of the workers class and of the working people is and will remain a condition for the development and growth of our Republic.

WARSAW PACT RENEWAL, 'DIFFERENCES' DISCUSSED

AU041941 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 2 Mar 85 p 3

[Interview with Istvan Roska, deputy foreign minister, by Tibor Thurzo: "Socialist World Order -- Hungarian Diplomacy"]

[Text] The past 40 years have brought a change not only in Hungarian history, but in the history of the world. A socialist world order has been created and the concept of a community of socialist countries has entered our political dictionary. What was the role demanded and played by Hungarian diplomacy and politics in all this? We talked about this with Istvan Roska, deputy foreign minister.

[Thurzo] As an introduction, please let us clarify a concept and a situation. What do we mean by a socialist community and what countries do we include as its members? Since when do we speak, can we speak at all about a socialist community?

[Roska] I agree to clarify or at least explain the concept of a socialist community as far as this kind of interview will enable me to do so. We must start from the fact that, as a result of destroying Hitler's fascism, favorable conditions emerged in many countries for winning the power of the workers, for creating relations of socialist ownership, and for laying the foundations of socialism and socialist construction. A number of European countries' peoples chose this way and created a socialist homeland for themselves. As a result, a new situation also emerged in the world: Socialism outgrew the confines of one country and became a world order covering one-third of the earth. Belonging to the socialist world order are the countries with an identical type of government and system of ownership.

However, relations of the countries of the socialist world order with each other are not uniform. There are countries that have founded and regulated their relations with multilateral and bilateral agreements. Other countries are not bound to each other by such agreements. There are countries that are coordinating their evaluation of the situation and their foreign policy at regularly forums. There are socialist countries that are not part of such cooperation. The concept of socialist community was born to reflect these differences. Generally, we consider as belonging to the socialist community the countries bound to each other not only by the identity of their social-economic order, but also by a system of agreements, such as the Warsaw Pact, CEMA, and the system of bilateral friendship treaties. I believe, following this explanation, that it is unnecessary for us to list the members of the socialist community. The circle of countries belonging to the socialist world order, including the socialist community, is expanding together with social progress. The concept discussed above can also change together with social progress.

[Thurzo] Our bilateral relations with the Soviet Union are of determining value and importance to us. It would be difficult even to list the events of the last 40 tradition-creating years. Therefore, please point out the still valid phases and events of these 4 decades that we can consider milestones and pillars of our relations.

[Roska] We have been celebrating since 23 September last year the 40th anniversary of the process of our liberation, and will do so until 4 April this year. We are commemorating our liberation 40 years ago through intimate festivities of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, where we also evaluate the most important results of our relations. We are pointing out that the Soviet Union's merits in the liberation of our people and in supporting our socialist construction work are undying.

Concerning the turning points in Hungarian-Soviet relations, or as you call them "phases," "milestone," or "pillars," I think we must go back further in time.

The foundations of our current relations were laid by the 100,000 Hungarian internationalists who militarily defended Soviet power in Russia; by those Hungarian revolutionaries who established the Hungarian Republic of Councils, which was fraternal with the Soviets; and by those antifascists who risked their lives during the darkest years of Horthy-fascism and in the destructive wave of the war. At the time of liberation, all this provided a good basis for the development of a new type of Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Following the liberation, on 25 September 1945, Hungary and the Soviet Union resumed the diplomatic relations severed in 1941. By so doing, it was the Soviet Union that first recognized the new Hungary as an equal partner and independent and sovereign state. This is reflected in the Hungarian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed in Moscow on 18 February 1948 and renewed in Budapest in 1967. This treaty -- the basic document governing our relations -- comprehensively determined Hungarian-Soviet relations, and in past decades it has proved in every case an efficient and good means in the development of cooperation between our countries and in strengthening our people's friendship. Meetings between leading representatives of our parties and countries, regular consultations between our countries, and mutually informing each other on issues of mutual interest have become permanent in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship.

When we evaluate and analyze the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations, we are speaking with great emphasis about the cooperation between our parties. The MSZMP and the CPSU are bound together by an identity of ideals, goals, and interests. We have a mutual desire to deepen the multilateral and practical cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and to strengthen our people's friendship. This plays a determining role in all areas of Hungarian life.

The scientific-technological cooperation between our countries is playing a very important role in Hungarian-Soviet relations. We signed our first trade agreement in 1947, which stipulated annual trade of 30 million rubles. This year the value of our planned mutual trade exceeds 9 billion rubles, an amount equivalent to one-third of our entire foreign trade turnover.

Widespread cultural and educational cooperation plays a worthy role in Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Concerning the future, we will further progress on the road of deepening political, economic, and cultural cooperation between our countries in strengthening our peoples' friendship. This is a test-proven positive road that serves equally the interests of our peoples and socialism.

[Thurzo] We speak often about the international prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic and about our political and economic credibility. I think we are justifiably proud of this. However, we have achieved these results no doubt as members of the socialist community and of a socialist alliance system. What importance do you attribute to this connection? To put it more simply: Could we have achieved all this by ourselves?

[Roska] The international prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic is indeed increasing and we can say this with good feelings. The most important factors of this prestige are the balanced, principled policy of the MSZMP, the successful activity of socialist construction by our people, and the stability of our social order. In the past 4 decades we have overcome heavy social, economic, and cultural backwardness and have created a new homeland. Our achievements of epochal importance have elicited appreciation from our friends and have not been without influence on forces opposing us, either.

The fact that the Hungarian People's Republic is conducting an active foreign policy further increases our international prestige. It strengthens the positive trends in international life and is present everywhere where something can be done in favor of peace and international security.

Important characteristics of our foreign policy activity are its principled nature and predictability. No one can doubt that we participate in international activities as members of the Warsaw Pact. In accordance with this, we consider our most important task to be strengthening our cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We are expressing our solidarity with the developing countries and with all those forces struggling for their country's independence and their people's freedom. We are supporting these progressive forces' struggle within the limits of our power. Together with all this, we are striving for the maintenance of dialogue and for mutually advantageous cooperation with the developed capitalist countries. Last year we were hosts to the prime ministers of Finland, Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium and the chancellor of the FRG. Janos Kadar also paid a visit to France. We urged, among other things, implementation of the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act, a halt to the arms race, and the promotion of disarmament at these talks. We proposed cooperation in avoiding the danger threatening peace. These are pressing tasks today. The representation of these tasks serves the interests of all peoples.

You are right when you say that the scope of the increase in our country's international prestige could be achieved as a member of the socialist community. [Roska does not use the word "only" to modify the preceding sentence.] Our comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is an irreplaceable factor in our domestic construction work. The fact that we are following a harmonized political line in our participation within the Warsaw Pact increases the weight of our foreign policy activity, too. To put it precisely: By cooperating with our allies, we are also contributing, according to our abilities, to the reduction of international tension and to peaceful coexistence.

[Thurzo] The signatories of the Warsaw Pact were optimists; they believed that the world situation would develop more favorably. Unfortunately, the military blocs continue to exist, and the continuation of the Warsaw Pact's activity is entirely justified. What current tasks are the members of the pact facing as a result of this continuation? What are the most urgent tasks?

[Roska] I can hardly believe that in 1955 the signatories of the Warsaw Pact signed the defensive-political treaty for 30 years -- more exactly for 20 plus 10 -- as a result of their optimism. I have to remind you of the fact that it was not the socialist countries that initiated the establishment of "military blocs." NATO was established 6 years earlier in 1949. This step diminished the hope that it was still possible to preserve the cooperation of the states of the antifascist coalition that emerged during World War II. The real danger appeared, however, when the FRG also became a NATO member in 1954. The agreement concerning the FRG joining NATO was signed on 23 October 1954 in Paris. Following this, to counterbalance NATO, the socialist countries had no other choice but to create their own defense and political organization, the Warsaw Pact, on 14 May 1955 in Warsaw.

The first sentence of this treaty says: "The contracting parties are striving to create a European collective security system which would be based on the participation of all European states irrespective of their social and governmental order and which would enable the harmonization of their efforts toward ensuring peace in Europe." The agreement, signed for a period of 20 years with the possibility of extending it for another 10 years, would have lost its validity even before these deadlines if efforts to create the above-mentioned collective security system in Europe had been successful. As is well-known, this has not happened.

There is an agreement in principle among the Warsaw Pact members to extend the Warsaw Pact for another period. Representatives of the member states have begun direct preparations for this extension.

If I were to briefly state the most urgent tasks of the Warsaw Pact members, I would list the following: to fight to avoid the danger of nuclear war and strengthen peace. There is no more important task at present.

[Thurzo] Sometimes arguments and differences of opinion emerge as a result of the fact that each nation and each state has a different past and different traditions, its national characteristics are different, and sometimes even the methods a state applies in international life, in politics, and in its economy are different. Have we succeeded within our alliance in reaching the proper level of tolerance, which is in fact indispensable in preventing the differences from becoming obstacles to cooperation?

[Roska] In answering this question, we must start from the premise that the Warsaw Pact is made up of socialist countries that share common ideals; their fundamental interests and goals are identical. At the same time, they equally take into consideration the general rules of socialist construction and the concrete situation, strengths, and peculiarities of their countries. To this must be added the point that the member-states are independent and sovereign states which respect without exception the principle of noninterference in each others' internal affairs. It follows from all this that constructive cooperation of voluntarily united sovereign states is characteristic of our alliance. This, of course, does not exclude debates. It is possible, however, to agree only by taking mutual interests into consideration. The documents of the Warsaw Pact are published. They reflect the countries' positions harmonized by general consensus. And this is the main thing.

The other part of the question is that there are differences in the socialist countries' political practice and methods of socialist construction. Your question also included the explanation that the conditions of each country are different. If one is realistic, he acknowledges these differences and does not consider them to be "aberrations." This conception is increasingly obvious in relations between the socialist countries. And this provides for mutual interests rather than arguments.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VARKONYI'S UK VISIT

Thatcher Meeting 'Cordial'

LD072038 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] London, March 7 (MTI) -- Today British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, currently on a visit to Great Britain. In the course of the cordial meeting the parties discussed the most important international issues of mutual interest. On bilateral relations they stated with satisfaction that there was development and further opportunities for the extension of cooperation. The meeting with the prime minister was the last official event of Peter Varkonyi's visit which began Thursday [28 February].

Returns Home

LD072242 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Excerpt] The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs has concluded his talks in London and arrived home.

'TOLERANCE' NEEDED IN HUNGARY-ROMANIA RELATIONS

AU071259 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 9, 3 Mar 85 p 9

[Ferenc-Varnai article: "Hungarian-Romanian Relations -- On the Basis of Common Interests"]

[Excerpts] The development of Hungarian-Romanian relations is influenced equally by the two countries' identical social orders, their common fundamental interests and goals, the possibilities deriving from their geographic proximity, and by spiritual factors connected to their common past.

Population Travel

The opening of the Csengersima-Petea border crossing (for the time being for personal traffic and not the international traffic of goods) is helping to make passenger traffic smoother. To facilitate the population's daily business, a Hungarian consulate opened in Kolozsvar [Cluj] in 1980, and a Romanian consulate opened in Debrecen in 1981. (The latter closed on 31 December 1984 due to financial problems. It is a favorable development, however, that the agreement aimed at preventing and eliminating dual citizenship came into force in February 1980.

We are confident that the steady, successful political and professional meetings between leading representatives of the two countries' party and government organs, and implementation of the agreements of 1977 can be the basis for new high-level meetings where the tasks of further development of relations can be urged and determined.

As far as the MSZMP and the Hungarian Government are concerned, taking into consideration the national interests and the common interests of the entire socialist community, they are ready for an improvement of relations in all areas of life and for good partner cooperation in political, economic, cultural, and other relations, including in the possibilites created by the Romanian and Hungarian minorities living in the two countries.

Debate and Angreement

In the course of the development of relations, we must also consider, of course, that our countries have different traditions and different strengths; therefore they have different methods, too. This is precisely why the positions of the two parties and the two governments -- although identical in many fundamental questions -- nevertheless contain divergent elements. In order to eliminate these elements, patient and constructive debates are indispensable. There is also a need for mutual tolerance, understanding, and respect to make sure that differences in views do not prevail over bilateral relations. It is possible to argue on the basis of particular concepts. Arriving at an agreement, however, is possibly only by starting from common interests, and acting is possible only on the basis of mutually accepted documents.

As the two countries, taking into consideration the general rules and national particularities, follow socialist goals, they also have a common interest in the struggle for peace. Furthermore, they have an identical position in demanding that NATO and the Warsaw Pact mutually renounce the use of military force; they agree in principle on the extension of the Warsaw Pact due to NATO's agressive policy; and they make common efforts against the Western policy of discrimination and obstruction of the settling of repayment problems. There is a basis, therefore, for constructive cooperation, not excluding debates.

OVARI RETURNS FROM MOSCOW IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

LD081051 Budapest International Service in English 2100 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Mr Miklos Ovari, a secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, returned from Moscow. As head of a party delegation, Mr Ovari attended a conference held by central committee secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries responsible for publicity and ideological issues. The conference primarily discussed issues related to the approaching 40th anniversary of victory over fascism during WWII.

During his visit to the Soviet Union, Mr Ovari handed over the ruby-studded Order of the Banner to Mr Boris Ponomarev, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, on his 80th birthday.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HEARS LOSONCZI ON WOMEN'S DAY

LD071611 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Excerpt] We now go to the National Assembly, which is celebrating Women's Day. Our correspondent there is Karoly Csillag:

This year our girls and women are celebrating a double anniversary on Women's Day: 7 March was declared International Women's Day 75 years ago, and 40 years ago the Hungarian democratic women's movement was formed. Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, recalled this in his speech which began a few minutes ago:

[Begin Losonczi recording] While celebrating the achievements we must also outline the tasks. We must ask ourselves: Have we done everything so that women can take the place which they deserve in society, so that they can more easily tackle the burdens simultaneously placed on their shoulders concerning family, work place, and public life? In general -- seen from whatever viewpoint -- the situation is positive, but at the same time we have to admit that in the practical implementation of correct principles and declared rights we still have work to do.

In some places there is still a conservative attitude in people's minds about the role of women. This is an obstacle to materialization of the principle of equal wages for equal work, as well as to recognition of the value and rank of motherhood or the full development of social activity. I am convinced that our society has a motivating program, the execution of which could give great impetus to solving this type of problem. This is all the more true because it is not only a women's policy question but one of the factors of our work of building socialism.

Today there is almost no state or social forum where political, economic, cultural, or -- even more importantly -- social questions can be decided without the expression in these decisions of the particular ideas, demands, and constructive proposals of women.

Dear comrades, among the beautiful traditions of our socialism is that within the framework of this celebration the Presidential Council presents awards to those women who have done outstanding work in the expansion of real equality for our girls and women. It fills me with great joy that we can greet those present on this occasion. On the 75th anniversary, in your person, we also greet our entire women's movement as well. Allow me, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Council of Ministers, as well as on my own behalf, to congratulate from the depth of my heart all those so honored.

Let me express our frank respect and distinct recognition, especially for those women comrades who, in recognition of their decades-long work as veterans of the women's movement, receive the high awards of our People's Republic. I wish from the depths of my heart to all of them that, displaying similar willpower and readiness to act, they will for a long time yet work for our common cause -- the building a socialist society. I wish you, and through you all women and girls of the country, much success, good health, and happy and joyful family life. [end recording]

In recognition of their defense of peace, of their work in building a socialist social system in our country and in improving the living and working conditions of working women, and in recognition of those mothers who educate their children in a model manner, the Presidential Council presents to 16 women the Order of Socialist Hungary, to 40 women the Order of Labor in Gold, to 64 women the Order of Labor in Silver, and to 59 women the Order of Labor in Bronze. Three women received the Order of Outstanding Service. The decorations were presented by the president of the Presidential Council

POLISH DEPUTY PREMIER GORYWODO TO MEET FALUVEGI

LD072221 Budapest MTI in English 1702 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI) -- Manfred Gorywoda, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic and chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers, arrived in Budapest Thursday. The minister is scheduled to hold talks with Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, on bilateral economic cooperation issues and preparations for the national economic plans of 1986-90.

INCENTIVES, NEED FOR WORKERS TO ENJOY WORK VIEWED

AU061852 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Mrs Geza Dobo of the Budapest Technological University: "Interest, Interestedness, Incentive"]

[Text] A still much debated issue of our economic macromanagement is the interest of workers in their jobs. The fact that the worker must be interested in his work is hardly questioned by anyone today. The question is rather: Through what internal factors and external driving forces, and by what methods can jobs be made to correspond to worker interests and values?

Although in the production of socialist enterprises, the workers participate in two capacities -- as joint owners of the means of production and public property, and as employees and owners of their own labor -- in reality their separate interests are tied up with their capacity as employees. Employee ownership rights, at least in the current phase of our development, are influenced mainly by moral factors. Hence employees are interested in achieving the greatest possible results -- incomes and shares -- with the least possible work. If we did not take this interest into account and considered this attitude of the workers as merely a convenience, a result of the activity carried out in "the second economy," and a distortion of values, then we would not know what to do about helping workers become interested in their work.

We have to start from the premise that basically the rational effort of the worker is, on the one hand, to receive a better paid job and to work under more favorable conditions, and on the other, to strive to rationalize and simplify the work process. (This latter intention often leads to considerable innovations.) In fact, workers wish to attain surplus income at least proportional to the surplus work invested.

The employee's primary interest is connected with attaining a secure income, that is, with basic salaries. The level of the basic salaries depends first of all and to a determining extent on the development of the people's economy as a whole, and this determines the development of quality-of-life factors like the variety of goods purchasable with money, the quality of these goods, the amount of leisure time and the possibilities for spending it, the level of health services, the possibilities of culture, and so on. Therefore, the members of society in their capacity as employees are interested mainly in the increase of national income, but they still lack sufficient direct awareness of the fact that national income depends on the achievements of the enterprises. The development of the enterprises' profits is important for the employees only if it is a condition for increasing their incomes.

This does not mean that the workers are completely indifferent to the economic activity of the socialist enterprise; it means only that so far, in the relations between the enterprise and its workers, a greater role has been played by awareness of value and moral norms than by interests. It follows from this that the identity of interests of the enterprise and its workers must be created through interestedness.

If, for instance, the worker constantly feels, and we often witness this, that only the quantity of work is appreciated, that is, that quality work requiring more time is materially unremunerative for him, or if only the time spent at the workplace is considered and not the efficiency of work, then, sooner or later, his professional consciousness will be hurt. Likewise, when there is no adequate difference between the payment for better, more useful work and more superficial, poorer work, the awareness of the value of work declines. Those who possess a strong professional exactingness are necessarily struggling with this state of affairs, because the willingness to stick to the moral norms developed in the course of their education is inherent in men. This is often reflected in the workers' opinions, and we can also often experience that public opinion condemns carelessness and work inadequately carried out.

This close interrelation between values and interests makes it necessary for economists to analyze values more thoroughly and to take these more into consideration when creating personal interestedness. This is also indispensable because it is the only way to safeguard and strengthen the status of values important for the society. The material and moral incentives must, therefore, be in harmony.

When examining interests and values, we must also not forget the environmental factors influencing them. Such factors are the material-economic conditions. Although it is true that greater material appreciation generally stimulates better and more work, man nevertheless generally weighs three factors in relation to his activity: the relation between workplace surplus income and the surplus work needed to attain it; the question of how much his material well-being can increase by the above activity; and the question of how much he can increase his income by other work, carried on outside his main workplace, and how the two jobs and their results relate to each other.

The conclusion is obvious that if the surplus income and the improvement of his material situation are proportional to the work invested, then the worker is interested in surplus work. Readiness for better and more work is, however, also influenced by demands, and the extent and goals of material demands can be considerably different. There are people who are satisfied with fulfilling their basic requirements (food, clothing, housing, furniture, household appliances), and then spending their money on professional and cultural purposes or on rather modest pastimes. Others would like cars and land. Others have definite demands for luxuries. If a person cannot reach the desired goal through more and better work, then he is not stimulated by surplus income.

It can also happen in the case of large families that the worker does not feel interested in surplus work if the surplus income does not contribute tangibly to easing the family's conditions.

Incentives and interestedness are often used to mean similar things. An incentive means the resolute assertion of economic interests that influence the people participating in economic activity to work according to more or less well-recognized interests. Thus, an incentive is the means of developing interestedness with the mobilization of the workers' and collectives' interests. Therefore, the basic task of an incentive is to harmonize separate interests and to ensure by means of compromises that the workers identify with the enterprise's goals. Further, as an influencing factor towards attaining goals, an incentive also has the task of neutralizing activities and behavior which deviates from attitudes, values, and efforts which would reduce the efficiency of work.

For an incentive to fulfill its task it must be linked with easily measurable achievements. A worker is motivated if there is a clear-cut connection between performance and its result. A good system of incentives makes it possible for the employee to see and weigh in advance whether the work invested pays off for him, that is, how his efforts relate to the returns. Another condition of incentives is that a worker should be aware of his place in the enterprise's division of labor and have a clear knowledge of his role and of the extent his work contributes to attaining the enterprise's goals.

In creating interestedness, we have to start from the basic principle that the enterprise workers as employees are predominantly able to develop their own work. Their interestedness must therefore be based on factors influencing work productivity, and at all enterprises and all units and levels, interestedness must be connected to the activity which it can influence. Among influential factors are not only those which urge better achievements but also those which hinder them, and these can be both material and moral factors.

It is obvious that various materials allocations can stimulate better performance, but so can awareness of the social usefulness of the activity, the prestige attainable through performance, the possibility of using professional knowledge, and favorable working conditions. Egalitarianism, disregard of performance or professional knowledge, restrictions on increasing income or small wages, failure in the course of work, dissatisfaction with work, and unhealthy working conditions, however, inhibit performance and reduce worker interest. Mistakes in the organization of work and technical faults can also lead to a considerable loss of interest.

Factors stimulating and hindering achievements are closely interrelated: They can strengthen, weaken, or neutralize each other's influence. A considerable percentage of these factors can be modified only over the longer term, but in developing a system of incentives we must strive by all means to eliminate factors which hinder achievements, or must counter their effects with other factors. All this is not an easy task and cannot be solved merely by adopting measures; in order to achieve it a favorable atmosphere of enterprise democracy is indispensible, democracy in which various interests can come to the surface. Uncovering these interests requires thorough and painstaking political activity, the exchange of views, insight, and persuasion. The incentives accepted in the debates of the community, which consequently assert interests in line with our values, serve to have really necessary work provide the most profit for the enterprise, and in proportion to this each worker receives income according to the work carried out. This is the only way that national and personal incomes can increase.

RESULTS OF 'SIDE-LINE' ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ON FARMS

LD072057 Budapest MTI in English 1059 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI) -- Besides plant production and animal breeding, Hungarian agricultural farms also pursue supplementary activities, such as industrial production, commercial and servicing activity. Last year these side-lines accounted for 35 per cent of the gross production of state farms and cooperatives, with a value of over 100,000 million forints.

Originally these activities were started to guarantee work for farmers in off-season. At present 300,000 people are employed in supplementary activities, and 17 per cent of the fixed asset stock of agricultural units is found in these. A considerable proportion of side-lines are connected with agriculture: Cooperatives and state farms process their own products and mostly manufacture machines, installations and basic materials which they can use in agricultural production. More than half of the supplementary activity is industrial production. Each year food worth some 26,000 million forints, that is 14 per cent of total food production, is realized by agricultural companies. Building industry side-lines employ 67,000 people, annual production value surpasses 20,000 million forints. The 2,400 shops and restaurants operated by agricultural units account for some 3 per cent of retail-trade turnover.

Each farm generally operates 8-9 industrial producing units, with an average number of 11-16 employees. State farms had 127, cooperatives 1,255 building industry supplementary branches last year, and the average number of employees in these was 57 and 45, respectively.

Labour productivity in the non-agricultural production of state farms has increased 1.5 times since 1976, and in 1984 was the same as that in agricultural production. In this same period, productivity at agricultural cooperatives doubled and surpassed that of the productivity of the basic activity in 1984. 47 per cent of profits of state farms and 44 per cent of profits of agricultural cooperatives originate from non-agricultural production.

BRIEFS

HIGHER RETAIL TURNOVER -- According to a Ministry of Domestic Trade report, retail industry achieved a 9.5 percent higher turnover than in the previous year - amounting to 34.8 billion forints -- and trade was greater than planned. Because of cold weather, consumption increased but clothing supply remained unchanged. There was a shortage of cotton wear and woolen goods. Consumer demand for textile overcoats and men's and boys' suits could not be satisfied. There was a continued partial shortage of technical heating equipment with regard to radiators, but solid fuel fireplaces were in sufficient supply. The stock of domestic appliances, refrigerators, water heaters, and dish-washers, though in greater variety and better supply, was still unsatisfactory. The available supply of coal has only covered part of the demand. By mid-February some shortage areas were relieved and goods replacement became continuous in most places. [Excerpts] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP 2 Mar 85 p 9 AU]

WALESA SUMMONED BY GDANSK PUBLIC PROSECUTOR

AU072010 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Gdansk, March 7 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, said today he was under investigation and had been summoned to report on Saturday to the Gdansk Public Prosecutor's Office.

Mr. Walesa said he was under suspicion of organising and calling for illegal acts, an offence for which the penality is three years' imprisonment.

Several of his collaborators, among them a former member of Solidarity's undergound leadership, Janusz Palubicki, have also been summoned to see the prosecutor on Saturday.

Mr Walesa was first called to the prosecutor's office, for the same reason, on February 16.

He and his collaborators have earned official disapproval for taking part in a meeting here to prepare a 15-minute general strike set for February 28 to protest rises in food prices. The strike was later called off when the price rises were postponed.

All those taking part in the meeting, except Mr. Walesa and his chauffeur, were arrested, and three of them, including historian Adam Michnik, and two former leaders of undergound Solidarity. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Bogdan Lis, are still in custody.

PZPR POLITBURO REVIEWS FOREIGN POLICY, ECONOMY

AU071338 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- On 5 March, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo acquainted itself with the conclusions presented by the Presidium of the All-Polish Trade Union Con ess [OPZZ]. It was regarded as essential that the relevant bodies of the state and economic administration analyze the possibility of their implementation as soon as possible and present their view to the OPZZ Presidium.

The Politburo stressed that the party will encourage the independent and self-governing trade unions to represent the needs and interests of working people. The reborn trade union movement is a partner for the workers self-management bodies and for the state and economic administration. The party sees in the trade union movement a powerful social force which is taking part in solving the country's problems and which may significantly encourage an improvement in management, organizational-technological progress, and an increase in the national income.

The Politburo regarded a detailed explanation to society of the economic reasons behind the price rises and of their effects as a very important task.

It is necessary to oppose dishonest decisionmaking concerning price rises in order to transfer the effects thereof onto other goods and services. Bodies of state control are obliged to uncover such cases and pinpoint the persons responsible. These should be suitably punished.

The need was also stressed to afford greater protection and show greater concern for people in exceptionally difficult material circumstances. The need for party organizations and cells to support the activity of social welfare committees was pointed out.

It is essential to more energetically and effectively combat waste, mismanagement, and low work discipline.

The importance of this task is enhanced, in particular, by the burdens on the economy caused by the effects of the long, severe winter. It was pointed out that the possibilities for reducing one's own operating costs and improving productivity are still not being fully used. The structure of employment and production quality are improving too slowly. OPZZ activists have correctly pointed out these negative phenomena.

It was stated that despite problems with energy supply, the economy is basically maintaining its production rhythm.

The Politburo noted the workforce's and all working people's feeling of responsibility and good attitudes, and thanked the workers' collectives for the effort demanded by production, transportation, and market supply during this year's heavy winter.

The Politburo approved the precepts of the national party and economic conference which will take place in the middle of May this year.

In accordance with the 18th Central Committee Plenum resolution, the conference will examine the influence of the reformed economic mechanisms on the functioning of the economy, raising production, and improving productivity. Conclusions on how to stabilize the systemic stimuli for socioeconomic development for 1986-90 will be prepared.

The Politburo asks party organizations and cells, trade unions, workers and cooperative self-management bodies, enterprise managements, and other economic units, institutions, and state administrative bodies at all levels to accurately assess prior to the conference to what extent the newly reformed economic principles have been introduced. The point in particular is to provide an answer to the following questions:

-- How the independent and self-governing enterprises and cooperatives are using their powers to improve production quality and management, so that workers' incomes may be increased without a deterioration of the market situation and without an effect on prices;

-- Why workers' self-management bodies in many enterprises are agreeing to the continued existence of excessive personnel and even to a growth of administrative personnel, even though this negatively affects the wages of production workers;

-- To what extent the principles of the reform have been introduced in departments, workers' brigades, and individual posts.

The organizational structure, functions, employment level, and work style of state, central, and local administrative bodies; cooperative unions at all levels; enterprises; cooperatives; and other economic units should be submitted to particularly close assessment.

The Politburo assessed last year's results of the PPR's foreign policy and the 1985 prospects for the international situation, and against this background viewed the complex tasks of Polish foreign policy this year.

It was stated that Polish foreign policy in 1984 had concentrated primarily on the following:

-- Opposing, together with the allies, the dangerous trends in the international situation and preventing the danger of war;

-- Assuring Poland of its rightful place in the political-defensive alliance of the socialist states -- the Warsaw Pact;

-- Tightening relations with the socialist states;

-- Broadening contacts and cooperation with the developing countries;

-- Countering the results of the sanctions and overcoming the difficulties in relations with Western countries;

-- Rebuilding and strengthening Poland's position in international organizations;

-- Broadly counteracting the peace-threatening tendency to undermine the territorial-political reality in Europe.

The Politburo stated that there was a further fundamental improvement in Poland's international position last year. The ideological-political, defense, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural ties with the USSR and with all the socialist states were strengthened. Our relations with the developing countries broadened. The cordon of political boycott of Poland carried out by the NATO states, inspired by the United States, was broken. Economic relations with the West normalized gradually. There was a return to broad dialogue with the PPR concerning peace and European and world security.

The decisive factor in strengthening Poland's international position in 1984 was the progress achieved in normalizing the domestic political-social situation and the positive results achieved in overcoming the effects of the economic crisis.

Having analyzed the dominant world trends, the Politburo stated that our 1985 foreign policy tasks will be performed in a complicated international situation.

The arms race is continuing and international tension is being dangerously sharpened by the forces of imperialism. On the other hand, there is a growing awareness among the peoples and states of the world of the dangers posed to mankind by the confrontation policy of the United States and some other NATO states. Therefore, new factors may arise to encourage an improvement in the international situation. The USSR-U.S. disarmament talks starting in Geneva this month create prospects for an improvement in the world political climate.

The Politburo defined the complex tasks and chief paths of action for the Polish diplomatic corps in 1985.

Strengthening Poland's sovereignty, inviolability of borders, and territorial integrity, and improving its defense capability will be encouraged by the constant consolidation of the Warsaw Pact, energetic participation in the joint formulation and implementation of the socialist community's peaceful foreign policy, and an improvement in the forms and mechanisms of cooperation within the Warsaw Pact.

A priority task will also be to strengthen and extend the comprehensive allied ties and further develop political, defense, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation with the USSR and all the countries of the socialist community. Long-term programs of economic and scientific-technological cooperation will be implemented.

Joint activity between the fraternal parties will be developed, for example, during the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. A further consolidation of CEMA and an extension and enhancement of socialist economic integration processes will be significant. Political contacts and economic relations with the developing countries, especially those of a progressive and socialist orientation, will be increased.

In view of the FRG revanchist trends, supported by the U.S. policy of confrontation, it will be important to strengthen the perpetuity of the territorial-political reality established as a result of World War II and Europe's postwar development. Counteracting attempts to treat the German problem as an "open" one and opposing, together with the allies, the FRG's aim to strengthen its armaments potential are particularly important. The Politburo stressed that the manifestations of revanchism in the FRG are a danger to peace in Europe and the world.

Restoring Poland's place in East-West dialogue concerning peace and international security is an important task facing Polish foreign policy. This will be served by efforts to finally break the American and Western policy of politically isolating Poland. The shape and content of these relations will be an important matter. Their basis may only be noninterference in domestic affairs, a respect for equality, and a halt to the policy of economic sanctions.

One of Poland's 1985 paths of action will be to consistently strengthen the structures and mechanisms of international talks and cooperation, including the work of the United Nations on a world scale and the CSCE process on a regional scale. In performing these tasks, we will aim to increase the United Nations' role in preserving peace and security.

Poland will continue to ask for the sake of an accord at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, both in the political and legal-international sphere and in the technical-military sphere. We will take energetic part in the Vienna talks on arms and armaments reductions in central Europe. An important forum of activity will be Poland's participation in undertakings and meetings as part of the process. [sentence as published]

The Politburo indicated that one task of particular importance is to create optimum conditions for state economic activity, including the development of trade and economic-financial cooperation with foreign countries.

The importance of painting a proper picture of Poland in the world, affording proper care to Polish citizens abroad, and developing and tightening contacts with the Polish emigre community was pointed out.

The Politburo expressed the conviction that the foreign policy of the PPR in 1985 will be one of the most important platforms of accord and unity between all our nation's patrotic and constructive forces, and will serve to create the necessary conditions for our state to achieve its socialist goals in world relations. The successful performance of our aims concerning foreign relations will encourage stabilization and economic development.

The Politburo viewed a report on PZPR cooperation with communist and workers parties. Last year, cooperation with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties in the socialist countries tightened and intensified. This was expressed during visits by the PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Politburo members, and Central Committee secretaries, and during meetings of study groups from Central Committee departments in all important areas of party activity. Various forms of cooperation between local cells; enterprises; trade unions; and youth and women's organizations developed positively and to mutual advantage. The results of this cooperation permit a broadening of Poland's ties with the fraternal countries in the economic, ideological, political, and social spheres. They permit one to draw from the rich experience of other states in socialist construction.

Last year, cooperation with communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries broadened. Some of these parties possess a favorable view of the PZPR and its socialist renewal policy. This permits a reconstruction of mutual ties, to the advantage of the international workers movement. The PZPR remains open to other parties' desire to tighten cooperation. The basis has been and remains internationalist solidarity in the struggle against the danger to world peace and social progress posed by imperialism. It was recommended that PZPR contacts with this part of the communist and workers movement be enriched.

The Politburo affirmed that PZPR contacts with communist and workers parties and with progressive movements inside the developing countries have well served the general line of solidarity and support for their struggle for full political and economic independence, and against neocolonialism, racism, and all forms of racial discrimination.

The Politburo approved a report on the results of party and state visits to the fraternal socialist countries.

The comprehensive, mutual advantages of the agreements reached and the need to tighten them further was stressed.

The Politburo acquainted itself with and approved the results of the talks between Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, during the friendly working visit to Bulgaria. It was stated that this visit is creating new stimuli for a further development of cooperation in all spheres.

CC YOUTH DEPARTMENT MEETS WITH INTELLIGENTSIA

AU071051 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- The preparations for the 19th Central Committee plenum, which will be devoted to the role and importance of the intelligentsia in Poland's socialist development, are continuing.

Consultative and orientation meetings continue to be held by many communities to discuss proposals and observations with regard to the affairs of the Polish intelligentsia and to the conditions that make it possible to fully commit it to the process of extricating the country from its crisis and ensuring its socialist development.

On 4 March over 150 representatives of the young intelligentsia from all over the country gathered in the Central Committee at a session organized by the Central Committee Youth Department.

During a lively and critical discussion attempts were made to pinpoint the aspirations of the young generation of educated Poles and their place and role in society and in the development and modernization of the country.

The discussion was concluded by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, who said that the debate had brought to light many unsolved controversies.

The extensive exchanges of views of the intelligentsia's role in socialist Poland, he continued, are directly connected with the coming 19th plenum, but their results will also be useful when the party's long-term program, which will be adopted by the 10th party congress, is formulated. Even today it is possible to generally assert that many social evaluations are now being changed and that many principles that reflect the reality of the past years should now be modified.

This is connected with the progressive changes in the second half of our century, above all with the violent technical and technological leap that has occurred in the past few years. Computerization, automation, and videotechnology have created completely new tasks for the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia is expected to foster people's desire for modernization, innovation, and development.

JARUZELSKI MEETS WITH OPZZ TRADE UNION OFFICIALS

AU071252 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] PAP -- On 5 March Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other representatives of the party and government leadership met in Warsaw with the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the All-Polish Trade Union Congress led by Chairman Alfred Midowicz.

This was yet another meeting between the premier and the leaders of Polish trade unionists, and was held at the latter's initiative. The trade union leaders presented their critical views on the government prices hikes and on the manner in which they were introduced. This criticism was in response to the doubts expressed by trade unionists that the government compromise solutions for price increases would not increase the costs of living of workers families.

Most cordially welcoming the trade union leaders, General W. Jaruzelski stressed the social importance of the meeting's themes and expressed the conviction that the adopted price decisions which resulted from a comprehensive and honest review of the country's sociopolitical and economic situation would promote more harmonious cooperation between the government and representatives of the socialist trade union movement in the best interests of the state and all the working people. After all, the premier added, we all have the country's good at heart and we all want to improve our cooperation. General Jaruzelski's words "we are at your disposal" amounted to an invitation to a direct exchange of views....

The leadership of the trade union movement reported on the initial reaction of the working people to the price hike decisions, which were a surprise to many communities since they had not expected that the first price hikes would be introduced so quickly.

During the discussion it was pointed out that the government's original decisions had been modified as a result of consultations with the people and, mainly, as a result of the fact that the proposals submitted by the All-Polish Trade Union Congress had been taken into account.

The trade unionists agreed that they can merely participate in discussions on the general principles of price policy, which is part and parcel of the central annual plan, and that it is their basic duty to defend the working people's living conditions. They stressed that it is their duty to represent workers' views on living standards and that it is the task of the governments to make the best possible decisions. We realize, they continued, that these decisions should strengthen the authority of the government because without such an authority the opportunities to peacefully solve various problems would diminish. It goes without saying that these decisions must be made to the greatest possible extent on the strength of public views.

At the same time, the trade unionists submitted during the discussion many practical proposals to be jointly tackled by the government and trade unions. Such cooperation is primarily required in honestly, comprehensively, and consistently analyzing the impact of food price hikes on living costs. It was aggred that the next analysis would be carried out in the second half of this year.

The meeting clearly stated that the strict economic laws and mechanism cannot be violated with impunity in the long run.

General Jaruzelski summed up the multifaceted discussion and said at the beginning that the meeting undoubtedly benefited all the participants. He expressed great satisfaction with the fact that the trade unionists had demonstrated a high sense of responsibility on the issues that were the meeting's main theme. If the manner in which the price hikes were introduced has caused the trade unionists to be critical, W. Jaruzelski continued, the government will draw the necessary lessons in its further cooperation with trade unions.

The premier was especially pleased with the trade unionists' declaration that they are ready to assume more responsibility for improving the economic management of the production enterprises, which are the basic production units. It is necessary to make extra efforts to produce the additional Z60 billion, which will find its way into the market in excess of the provisions of the 1985 central annual plan. This task calls for increased discipline, better work organization, and efficiency. There is no other way to improve the lot of the working people. The support of the trade unions, W. Jaruzelski added, is most necessary in this regard if we work to prevent any delays in regaining market equilibrium. As for what you have said here, I am very concerned about your situation as class defenders of the interests of the working people. I think that we should eliminate, now and in the future, the notion of "sides" from our vocabulary. We serve the same course when tackling our objective economic situation and dealing with our political adversary, who is trying to make this situation worse and take advantage of it. We are all inspired by the same goal of producing more goods and sharing them fairly. It is also necessary to deepen our people's economic knowledge, because much is still misunderstood by them in this regard.

We must be especially sensitive to the fate of those who are really poor, and they must be the primary recepients of social assistance. The trade unionists can play a tremendous role in this. The most recent decisions on price hikes, which it was impossible to avoid, were an attempt to reconcile the social and economic interests. Having stressed the need to accelerate the implementation of the proposals resulting from the report on social benefits, the premier appealed to the trade unionists to actively participate in creating a social atmosphere to encourage productive work. We are in a situation in which it is not man who looks for work, but work which looks for man, he said.

W. Jaruzelski accepted with every sympathy all the evaluations and specific proposals submitted by the trade union leaders. The meeting agreed that a special government-trade union team would examine these and other proposals at a working session in the immediate future.

The meeting also reviewed the decisions made during the previous working visit by the trade union leaders to the PZPR first secretary, noted that the decisions made at this visit were being favorably implemented, and pointed to the need to accelerate the work of the government-trade unions with regard to a bill on collective work bargaining.

The Executive Committee Presidium of the All-Polish Trade Union Congress was represented by Deputy Chairman Leszek Brojanowski, Stefan Koziaczy, Pawel Szymanski, Zgigniew Cierpka, Anna Mierzynska, and Wojciech Obarski as well as by Wojciech Wisniewski, Alfred Owoc, Wieslaw Siewierski, Jerzy Uziewlo, Rajmund Mroic, Andrzej Gwiazda, Edmund Trokowski, Tadeusz Krupinski, Jerzy Pucula, Stanislaw Nowakowski, and Franciszek Ciemny.

The meeting was attended by Kazmierz Barcikowski, Zgigniew Messner, Tadeusz Porebski, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Stanislaw Gabrielski, Marek Holdakowski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Stanislaw Gebala, Stanislaw Nieckarz, Zdzislaw Krasinski, and Jozef Koziol.

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES CURRENT PROBLEMS

AU071112 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] PAP -- The Government Press Bureau reports that the Government Presidium was in session on 4 March and that Zbigniew Messner was in the chair.

The Presidium discussed the PPR's foreign policy program for 1985 and agreed that difficult external limiting factors, the aims of Polish foreign policy are being consistently implemented.

The Presidium then examined the problems of employment policy on the strength of an analysis submitted by the minister of labor, wages, and social affairs. The analysis shows that the fact that the number of adults of production work age has been on the wane for the past few years is the main reason for the difficulties in the manpower market. This trend will continue in the future.

The most important task of employment policy is to curb the bad features that continue to intensify the present difficulties. They include excessive employment caused by bad work organization and the poor exploitation of working time.

The structure of employment is incorrect. In addition, the turnover of cadres is very high, and each year over 2 million workers give up their jobs for new jobs in other enterprises. The turnover in construction trades is 27 percent, in the communal economy 23 percent, and in industry 17 percent. Some 30 percent of workers change their jobs on notice from enterprises of their own accord, and the number of workers who abandon their jobs is increasing. Enterprise managements continue the practice of generally agreeing to release the workers who want to go and, at the same time, of submitting demands for large numbers of new workers.

The Presidium agreed that it is necessary on the one hand, to consistently apply the legal measures to discipline employment and, on the other, to intensify the measures aimed at easing work and increasing one's satisfaction with the honest and irreproachable implementation of one's work tasks.

The Presidium studied the "Report on Absence Through Illness," which shows that cases of absence from work through genuine illness continue to go hand in hand with feigned illness. It is estimated that the overall losses in working time amount to 18.9 percent of per capita working time.

The Presidium instructed the minister of labor, wages, and social affairs to work out the principles with the help of which enterprises will be able to fix the amount of sickness benefits on the strength of wages. The proposals for these changes will be discussed with trade unions.

The Presidium discussed proposals for changes in the Council of Ministers decree on the principles of assigning apartments.

These proposals seek to create a legal basis for assigning apartments to specialists who must work in localities in which it is impossible to obtain a cooperative or enterprise apartment.

The proposals also include the provision enabling one to exchange a single apartment for two separate apartments if family considerations warrant such a change.

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI ATTEND FIRST ZSP CONGRESS

LD072116 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 7 -- The first Congress of the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) attended by more than 330 delegates who represent all the academic milieus in Poland opened its debates here today.

PUWP CC First Secretary and Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski received a cordial ovation from the youth when he arrived to attend the debates.

The congress is also attended by president of the Council of State Professor Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier Professor Edward Kowalczyk, members of the PUWP Political bureau and the CC Secretariat, representatives of leadership of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), ministers and chairmen of social and youth organizations.

Jaruzelski Meets ZSP Leaders

LD080031 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Excerpts] More than 330 delegates representing all student circles in Poland were present at the opening of the first congress of the Association of Polish Students [ZSP] in Warsaw.

In the report of the Executive Committee of the ZSP Supreme Council, presented by the council's chairman, Cezary Drozdz, it was stressed that the last 2 years have been a practical yardstick of the correctness of the decisions taken and the socioprofessional formula accepted by the organization. Despite many barriers the ZSP has built its fundamental structures and the organization's popularity is increasing among successive years of new students.

An assessment of the first period of activity of the student organization also dominates the discussion which has begun. Much time is devoted to the role of the student movement in the country's sociopolitical life. The possibility of increasing the participation of ZSP members in joint decisionmaking about the most important problems in the country's life was talked about by Waldemar Swirgon.

During a break in the congress deliberations Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski met with the leadership of the outgoing ZSP Supreme Council and its chairman, Cezary Drozdz. Thanking the activists for their efforts in the process of building in complex conditions a student organization, Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed the conviction that the ZSP Congress, expressing the essence of the duties of students and documenting the organizational and programmatic maturity of the ZSP, will become at the same time a new stage in its development and in the growing activeness in the service of society and socialist Poland. The premier also expressed the conviction that the student circles, members of the ZSP, will make known their creative presence in the discussion about the role and place of the intelligentsia in the socialist development of Poland, in the course of the preparations for the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT END OF WOMEN'S DAY MEETING

LD080037 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Excerpts] On the eve of International Women's Day a ceremonial soiree was organized at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. At the end of the meeting the floor was taken by Wojciech Jaruzelski:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] We have listened here together to many profound and wise reflections. We have listened to moving reminiscences. We have listened to beautiful verse; we have listened to the sound of sublime music, and in this context every word must seem pale and meager. May I therefore be permitted to limit myself to these words: I should like to bow my head in profound acknowledgement of you, dear and respected women comrades, in struggle and in work; for your patriotic deeds, for your selflessness, for your endurance, I thank you warmly.

I want to thank all brave, wise, warm-hearted Polish women on their holiday for their daily toil, for their smiles and tears. At the same time I wish you warmly and simply much human happiness. But, as the poet said, shared happiness is the common goal. Our goal is the well-being of the homeland, our sacred duty. May Polish women then always be happy. May our nation be happy. May Poland be happy. [applause] [end recording]

SEJM MARSHAL MEETS SPANISH PRIME MINISTER

LD080700 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa, who is in Madrid, has had a meeting with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. They discussed both the international situation and bilateral relations. The head of the Spanish Government expressed interest in expanding economic and other cooperation with Poland.

NICARAGUANS ARRIVE FOR FRIENDSHIP MEETINGS

LD070118 Warsaw PAP in English 1704 GMT 6 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 6 -- A delegation of the Nicaraguan Society for Friendship With Socialist Countries (ANAPS) with its Secretary General Socorro Galan arrived here today at the invitation from the Polish Council of Societies for Friendship With Nations.

Nicaraguan guests will participate in Poland in meetings of friendship and solidarity with Nicaraguan nation, which will be attended by representatives of professional and social circles. The delegation will also hold talks with leading trade unionists and representatives of youth movement.

The meetings and talks will focus on the forms of support and assistance for Nicaraguan nation which defends the achievements of the revolution and the right to self-determination in the face of the threat posed by American imperialism and counter-revolutionary forces striving to overthrow the legal, democratically elected authorities in Nicaragua.

The delegation met with Secretary General of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) National Council Jerzy Jaskiernia to discuss present socio-political situation in Poland and PRON's activity.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE OPENS IN BUCHAREST

AU071116 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0936 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/3/1985 -- The National Women's Conference started in Bucharest in the morning of March 7 in the presence of RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu. The conference gathers 800 women delegates from all over the country and from all fields of activity. Representatives of women's organizations from socialist countries, of the Women's International Democratic Federation and of other international organizations attend as invited guests.

Taking their seats in the presidium beside the Romanian head of state were Elena Ceausescu, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, other members of the party and state leadership, representatives of the women's movement of Romania.

The proceedings were opened by Ana Muresan, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the National Women's Council. The following agenda was adopted:

1. Report on the activity of the National Women's Council over the period elapsed since the previous conference and the tasks incumbent on women in implementing the Thirteenth RCP Congress resolutions.

2. Report of the Auditing Commission.

3. Election of the National Women's Council and of the Auditing Commission.

During the opening session President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech. The conference continues its work in plenum and its commissions.

ANDREI MEETS WITH FORMER UK PRIME MINISTER WILSON

AU072036 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/3/1985 -- Lord Wilson, former prime minister of Great Britain, arrived in Bucharest on March 7 for a visit to Romania together with a group of members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and of British businessmen. On the afternoon of the same day, Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei had an interview with the British guests. During the talks, aspects were approached of the development of the Romanian-British relations, as well as several current international issues.

AUSTRIAN CP LEADER MUHRI ARRIVES 6 MARCH

AU061633 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1552 GMT 6 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/3/1985 -- A delegation of the Communist Party of Austria led by Franz Muhri, chairman of that party, arrived in Bucharest on March 6 for a visit to Romania. The Austrian guests were welcomed by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEBATES DRAFT CONCLUSIONS

Pozderac Addresses Session

LD060934 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0305 GMT 5 Mar 85

["LCY Central Committee Session: Introductory Report by Hamdija Pozderac" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- In today's session of the LCY Central Committee we are summing up and evaluating the results of the 8 months of public debate on the draft conclusions of the LCY Central Committee on realizing the leading role of the LCY and strengthening its ideological unity and its unity of action. Such an evaluation encompassses a description of the debate in a narrow sense, as well as an assessment of the activity of the LCY organizations and organs during the period of the debate. The debate was initiated to highlight the important aspects of the ideological state of affairs, both in the LC and in society, and to make the LC more capable, on the basis of this, of perceiving the patterns of development of socialist self-management and to thereby bring about a fundamental change in its work and activity in resolving social problems.

As an expression of the sense of historic responsibility for the operation of the LC as a revolutionary organization of the Yugoslav working class and for the revolutionary orientation of developing the sociopolitical and economic system as a whole, the debate prompted a critical and self-critical reexamination of the content, forms, and operating methods of the LC in the current phase of the socialist revolution. By the breath of the issues raised, the depth of treatment of the problems, the quality of knowledge, the principled stance of the members, and the frankness with which it was conducted, this debate represents a firm, decisive step in democratizing relations in the LC, in establishing full communication with its class and other progressive social forces, and in further strengthening socialist self-management. It was dominated by the orientation toward continuing our revolutionary development; toward Tito's path of developing the socialist self-managing society as our answer to the question of the present and future of mankind and the world; toward a federative community of equal and fraternal nations and nationalities; toward nonalignment as the principle for building equal relations between the countries and peoples of the world; toward a community such as that founded by the national liberation struggle, the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia decisions, and the SFRY Constitution.

The debate on the draft conclusions offered objective and critical information about our practice; that is, it demonstrated the extent to which it accords with the set targets and what the place and real position is of social subjects, especially the LC, in regard to achieving these targets. The debate reiterated those contradictions that have not been overcome and opened up new, relatively authentic contradictions that, for the most part, derive from within, from the very depths of the social, political, and cultural composition of our society -- above all, tendencies toward turning self-management into a screen to justify decisionmaking, which has been monopolized by narrow circles of alienated material and political power, or into a screen of quasidemocracy. Therefore the debate was partly in danger of dissolving into an endless pursuit of every tiny detail of social life. The debate featured some digressions and petty criticism, but, on the whole, it represented a serious, essential social function in searching for new contents, ways, and methods for further developing socialist self-management and more rapidly putting the country on the path of stable social and economic development.

On the one hand, the debate avoided a markedly fruitless position of blanket and poorly-augmented criticism in the name of abstract freedom of criticism. On the other, the LC abstained from taking a dogmatic line of defense, that is, from trying to proclaim all criticism as carping criticism and from defending all the existing practices in society. True, both of these positions equally stubbornly persist: The first attempts to impose an accusing picture of the way the revolution, allegedly, is abandoning its course and the dictatorship of the proletariate is turning into torture of party cadres; the second proclaims as sacred everything that has so far been done and built, including even obvious mistakes.

Critical exposure of contradictory social moments and the state of affairs in the LC in the draft conclusions of our 13th session, acts as a catalyst for political trends and debate that have already been set in motion in society. The democratic nature of all this, the relevance of the criticism and the elements of solutions and proposals, enabled the public debate to confirm the well-founded nature of the majority of assessments about the political and social situation, as a whole, put forward by the LCY Central Committee. More important than this, however, is the creative contribution made by Communists, working people, and citizens toward filling out evaluations of the political situation in the country and the state of affairs in the LC. It is particularly valuable that a number of possible solutions for extricating society from the situation in which it finds itself, both in the sphere of economic relations and in other domains of life, were laid down in specific form during the debate. Such proposals and suggestions are a huge contribution, although many of them must be brought to a proper synthesis.

When the results of the debate are looked at as a whole, then it is first and foremost evident that there is a dominating conviction in the LC that further developing socialist self-management depends upon the progress made in the degree to which the working class and working people dispose of social capital; upon the progress made in the working class's control over the functioning of the socioeconomic and political system, especially on the global social level; and upon the ability of the LC to realize, together with other subjects of socialist self-management, the cohesive function of synthesis in the Yugoslav community of equal nations and nationalities. Effectively solving these questions depends decisively upon further developing material productive forces, which are declining in current conditions, while stagnation in economic trends is restricting the opportunities both for resolving them and for expanding socialist self-management as a whole. The most essential condition for this is the full affirmation of the working man as the basic productive factor, and thereby, in parallel, as the self-manager, also a political factor.

It is precisely with regard to these three key issues that various "alternatives" to further developing socialist self-management are manifested more clearly. This relates in particular to the etatist-bureaucratic forces and concepts for which the present difficulties are useful proof of the need to return, in all its forms, to a wholly etatist regulation of social development. On the other hand, bourgeois concepts and forces, not without some elements of malicious triumph, are trying to prove that our situation is the inevitable punishment for the allegedly ill-considered and adventurous attempts to avoid the "sole, sure" capitalist way of production. All these "alternatives" cloud, and therefore make more difficult, the necessary and sole possible direction for developing socialist self-management; the cumulative effect of these strives to be the omen of a new resurrection beginning now. But while the bourgeois direction historically has no chance of constituting itself as a predominating system of relations, the etatist-bureaucratic direction could be the introduction to a different state of affairs as a consequence of our hesitation and isolationism in realizing the established policy and in seeking solutions for the future development of socialist self-management.

It is not a question here of discovering a new strategy of social development, laid down in the program of the LCY and the SFRY Constitution, but of realizing this in its entirety and uncompromisingly, and of adopting realistic and flexible tactics in the struggle to carry it out. Strategy is also laid down in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program that represents the further concretization of our orientation toward developing production relations and forces so that workers and working people in associated labor shall dispose of income and manage the trends of general social reproduction as a whole. It is in this context that one should interpret the forcefully expressed criticisms directed against the strengthening of group property-relations, technobureaucratic usurpations and couplings, and the etatist suspension of self-management, upon which is formed the power of partial interests and bureaucratic and technobureaucratic forces in economy, politics, culture, science, ideology, and social life, as a whole. These negative processes have also found their support in certain underdeveloped mechanisms of the political system and the empty spaces of self-management organizations that associated labor has not managed to fill.

It is significant that criticism of numerous economic shortcomings was linked to criticism of the general causes of instability in the conditions of production and distribution. Exaggerated and excessive outflow of resources from associated labor, excessive appropriations from income for social needs, and lagging in self-management associations and organizations are directly attributed to inadequate economic policy, monopoly fragmentation of the Yugoslav market, failure to respect economic patterns, failed investments, serious weaknesses in the currency system, the suspension of plans, etc. All this has developed because the process of dispossessing the federal state proceeded as a process of comprehensive deetatization, and as a consequence of this it got stuck at that level and turned into the opposite process of etatization. Thus the necessary process of national affirmation proceeded along the lines of etatization, even though we have long since clarified, both in the theoretical and in the practical sense, the relations between the class and the national. However, so far the processes achieved have produced more tendencies toward national (and nationalistic) isolation on statist-bureaucratic bases than self-management linkage on the unified Yugoslav economic territory. Yet only self-management linkage and association of labor and means can represent the economic foundation of socialist togetherness as the new historic quality of our community to enable full national equality and affirmation of all nations and nationalities. The way out of such a state of affairs demands that scope should be restricted to the greatest extent possible and that opportunities should be removed for a mediating role between the working man and the results of his labor to be played by those political and social protagonists, allegedly the elite, to whom the logic of defending their own favored position objectively is opposed to socialist self-management and the true power of the working class and who, in the guise of self-management, develop etatism in place of democratic forms, atomize labor and means instead of associating them, develop bureaucratic manipulation of the interests of the workers instead of developing their power, and in place of unity develop divisiveness, antagonism, suspicion, and so forth.

In the final analysis this led to the breakthrough and reinforcement of bureaucratic etatism in a period when we stressed the deetatization of relations in social reproduction as the most important task in realizing the strategy of our social development. In such conditions, when associated labor had not mastered the integrating and coordinating functions in social reproduction, the forces of etatism manifested themselves as a real force adopting decisions on the global issues of social reproduction and arbitrating in resolving conflicts of interest in society, as well as in international relations. In these processes the LC organs and leaderships in many respects imitated the state in its republican-provincial edition, and as a rule followed the measures of the state organs.

Partial interests, from the basic organization of associated labor right up to the province and the republic, were through the activity of sociopolitical organizations and even the LC and the delegate assemblies, increasingly politicized and raised up as inviolate to the relevant level of decisionmaking, especially the federal level, claiming to be common interests. Given that the institutions of the system were not always in a position to correct this genetic mistake in forming interests and to offer vigorous opposition to the imperative realization of such interests, and to make them common interests, compromises followed. In such situations adopting temporary measures was avoided at all costs, so that solutions to general questions of social development were blocked, thereby restricting the overall efficiency of the political and economic system. Reaching agreement at the level of the federation was, therefore, frequently turned into negotiation where alliances and power relations find expression. This, however, is the naked manifestation of classic state functions, which must be transformed to supplement the deciding role of associated labor in social reproduction since, in the contrary case, they will strive to return to their own developmental nest, to the reetatization of the federal state, something that just goes around in circles, but at a higher level.

It is no easy task to constantly develop the LC as a revolutionary action party when socialist self-management is going through a process of constant competition with etatist tendencies; when the remains of autocratic conscience are still lingering; when, in their actions, Communists still rely for the most part on the authority of party organs; when material and special interests are exerting strong pressures on our society; when our ideopolitical attitude toward the forces opposed to socialism and self-management, particularly toward the onslaught of nationalism and petit bourgeois attitudes, is badly timed and insufficiently resolute; and when many Communists are in the grip of opportunism and are expecting all the problems to be solved by state or similar measures. These are not new or unfamiliar phenomena. What is new is the realization that they cannot be dealt with without adhering to a working class approach in our action to change the situation and to make new historical inroads. Since against such attempts and practice the LC must always act as an instrument of working class participation in managing social affairs and not allowing, without much resistance, the undesirable processes of its transformation into an extended hand of the state apparatus to gain more ground through the suspension of some of its functions. This implies fully meeting the demands that the working class be constituted as the true leading force within its own nation and within society on the whole.

For this reason the persistent problem of the role of the state in the transitional period has become exceptionally topical at the present moment. In the same way, the idea of spontaneous self-reproduction of self-management, which allegedly needs neither the state nor the party -- except the party in the role of theoretical vanguard -- is no longer viable. It cannot be accepted either that socialist self-management should remain within the bounds of the individual and the particular, in other words without characteristics of the general. This is so because the conclusion made on the premise that socialist society can establish itself as a whole only through political sphere -- that is through state and party, since they embody the attitude of the whole -- represents a specific kind of ideological rationalization of the etatist variant of socialism. The bureaucratic-technocratic forces in our society are constantly trying to prove in practice the theory that socialist self-management cannot embody the attitude of the whole and that they are necessary and indispensable as mediators and interpreters of the general interests of the working class and society as a whole.

As far as the other key issue is concerned -- progress in the way the working class controls the functioning of the economic and political system -- two main tendencies became prominent during the debate. The first begins with the analysis of our overall situation as set in the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. This means that social problems are generally examined in view of both objective and subjective disruptions that slow or hamper its implementation. This is also taken as the basis for assessing the LC's ideological and political capability of achieving unity of action among all socialist forces in implementing the program, which is considered to be the central concept of the way out of economic difficulties, which in turn are approached as the fundamental causes behind our political problems. With a slight difference in detail, this was the main characteristic of the approach adopted by most of the LCY and its leaders during the debate.

In contrast, the other tendency sees the causes of our economic crisis and its problems as part of a deep crisis affecting all of society. In that context it assesses the stabilization program as anachronic and not suitable for our situation, since it proceeds from the opposite assessment of the causes of the society's economic crisis, which it sees in our society's deep general crisis: the crisis of the socioeconomic system that manifests itself as an economic, political, constitutional, ideopolitical, ideological, and moral crisis; a crisis in all sections of society.

This approach is based on the knowledge that our entire socioeconomic and political development since 1963 or 1965, which culminated in the 1974 constitutional reform, was wrong. It calls for a directly opposite course of development from the one chosen in the 1968-71 crisis situation. Basically speaking, it demands a return to increased state interference in all spheres, limiting the working class' direct constitutional rights, solving and approaching all society's problems from the point of view of the whole of the center, and a stop to reliance on the grass roots in the attempts to reach unified solutions. This way an attempt is being made to deprive the working class, the LCY, and other organized socialist forces of the power to implement the decisions of the LCY Congresses. These demands are not based on a profound analysis of the historical context of the situation and conditions in society, and they particularly lack any kind of the real historical analysis of the development of working class power. What this essentially means is that the issue of the way out of the existing situation is being equated with the issue of power; that is the change in the character of our power, and its class proponents.

On the other hand, some people think that our so-called systemic solutions have been perfected, that it is clear to everybody that to achieve economic and social stabilization the role and position of working people must be strengthened and that any discussion about these issues would only mean repeating what has already been said. This is accompanied by the view that year in year out our stabilization programs seem not to differ much from each other and therefore, only what has been agreed should be implemented. Support for this thesis is also expressed through the warning that we should not look backward but forward, as if this was possible without finding out whether the logic of historical process, which cannot be changed in any way, is what brought us to where we are or whether it was something else.

There is no doubt that we are faced only with economic problems and that their elimination, even if it was done fast and in a successful way, would not solve the problems of our social development. This does not, however, mean that changes can be made regardless of production relations, where the self-managing forms in which working people organize and associate themselves have not yet become the starting points for infusing self-managing relations in society.

Isolated changes, made regardless of production relations, could only arouse false hopes, misconceptions, and futile expectations. Kardelj also pointed to this link, stressing that the process of strengthening the working class and working people's self-managing position and role could not fully develop at the necessary pace if the political system as a whole fails to adapt quickly and in a timely manner to the altered socioeconomic and production conditions. This is the normal way in which the social process should develop. It is a necessity and a current systemic need since our system is not perfect and has not completed its development. Its achievements and the established trend of development make further transformation possible. For this reason all its subjects have the responsibility of establishing clearly where obstacles to its implementation lie and to constantly revolutionize its practice.

This is why the LC favors those changes that will help eliminate those who are between the working people and their labor; will help fight group-property, and bureaucratic-technocratic and etatistic monopolies over social property, will bring the state organs to where they will act as an instrument of workers organized on the basis of self-management; implement the principle of free exchange of labor; and make the delegate system more efficient. In other words, the LC favors realization of the essence of socialist self-management. This will be helped by completing work on the critical analysis of the functioning of the political system. Regardless of it all, it is already possible to take concrete steps to eliminate bottlenecks in the functioning of the political system, which would make its stabilizing, dynamic role more effective.

It is not sufficient just to register mistakes and shortcomings; they must be uprooted by broad ideopolitical action over the entire Yugoslav territory. This is why a more rapid implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization is exceptionally important. This is the practical way to create conditions for strengthening the self-managing link between workers and the association of labor and means; for repressing state powers and those of its functions that go beyond its constitutional jurisdiction and which interfere with the processes of production and distribution, thus causing major disruptions within all social reproduction. The objectives of economic stabilization can be achieved only if they are viewed as an inseparable part and an important component in the development of socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations. These objectives can serve as a stimulus for more efficiently eliminating the contradictions that exist between pooling labor and resources and the self-managing linking in social reproduction, on one hand, and the rather dominant classic role of the state that, through its interference, gives rise to voluntarism in relations within social reproduction so that through various pressures to preserve the existing relations, it can justify its role and the need to intervene in the disrupted trends of social reproduction. Difficulties resulting from ignoring economic laws have been reflected in the spreading of the state's classic role within our economy and in pushing aside the process of self-managing association, independence and interdependence of the organizations of associated labor, and consequently of their activity's economic basis.

The major social cause of such a state of affairs lies in the fact that there is no adequately developed process to enable working people and citizens to carry out an adequate selection of differing interests in the most democratic way possible and to ensure that in the end the best decisions for society's development are adopted. In other words, there are still spheres in which sociopolitical processes have not yet been established that would, in a democratic and efficient way, transform numerous basic self-managing interests into actions to strengthen the process of organizing associated labor in such a way that optimum conditions are created for distribution, the management of resources, accumulation, and reproduction.

This is why our normative decisionmaking bodies, such as assemblies and the democratic supreme organs of power and self-management, are under strong pressure to present and coordinate self-managing interests in an etatistic way that distorts them on their way to the final stage of decisionmaking. These pressures often result in a complete blockade that prevents assemblies from always finding timely, effective solutions to the acute sociopolitical controversies or to the further development of society. And blocking or postponing of these functions cannot be tolerated by any society. Therefore, the sociopolitical powers, which, in the process of deetatization and in keeping with the assembly system, rest with delegate bodies, continue to be outside their sphere in two ways. In one way, which is more ideopolitical, some power remains with sociopolitical organizations; this is particularly so in the political-executive bodies of the LC. In the other, a more managing-operative one, some power is retained by the structures of executive authorities. These places then become the real centers of decisionmaking, while the representative bodies are left to endorse, ratify, or make public decisions previously adopted by less representative structures. There is, therefore, danger of the democratic mechanism of delegate assemblies being used only as democratic ornaments and not as centers of decisionmaking.

This shortcoming in our system could be at least partially eliminated through, first, establishing maximum democratic and self-managing coordination of interests that in the initial stages of decisionmaking would ensure a democratic selection of demands, thus making the process of adopting decisions about crucial social issues much easier; second, through a much wider application of the delegate principle, which is intended as the means of ensuring associated workers' decisive role in the process of decisionmaking at all levels, the decisive influence of the grass roots on the centers of decisionmaking would increase. This is a central issue that, if not solved, would cause the principle of assemblies as the top organs of socialist self-management to remain merely a proclaimed objective.

To a large extent the complexity of this problem stems from the contradictory position and role of the LC, which brings me to the third crucial issue: the LC's ability to perform a cohesive function, the function of synthesis. On one hand, it is the factor in the system that is responsible for our revolutionary achievements and our socialist system; on the other, it is the factor of change for better and a force behind revolutionary trends, changes, and progress. The problem of how to unify these two tasks in a flexible way is a constant source of the issue of how, in its activity, the LC can affirm itself more as a league and less as a party in the classic sense of the word. We gave an answer to this in the LCY program, particularly at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses, in Tito's speeches, and in Kardelj's essay on the directions of the political system's development. However, the principle of the LCY's leading role has not been sufficiently established in practice. There are serious waverings in this regard as well.

It is necessary, therefore, for us to draw a timely distinction in practice between the LC's activity in the institutions of the system and its becoming fused with them, which happens when the LC takes over the executive prerogatives of sociopolitical communities and self-managing organs.

The LC is a prominent factor of the system of self-management, but this must not imply that it loses its identity of revolutionary vanguard or its critical attitude toward the system of self-management. Action from within does not imply accepting all that is offered under the guise of self-management, nor does it mean reconciling what has already been achieved. Renouncing its position above the system, the LC does not renounce, but rather strengthens, its role as the factor of social changes and its creative role as theoretical vanguard and ideopolitical organizer of social action.

The fact that the LC is pursuing these tendencies both in the political system and in production relations does not lead to a democratization of its social role and intra-party relations, but to a demolition of its ideopolitical, active, and organizational unity. The LC has a position as an internal force in our system which is translated into an unwanted contrast: If it does not operate as an internal factor that encourages integration and unification among the working class, the reflex for the struggle against encapsulation and disintegration of the working class within the LC will become blunt. Instead of acting as a force that affirms both the independence and interdependence of sections of associated labor and the totality of our social community, that is to say as a force that encourages the protagonists of special self-management interest to raise themselves to the level of general interest, from the point of view of us all, LC organizations frequently become the prey of technobureaucratic absolutization of particularist interest or a prey to those who speak in favor of an artificial and outside integration of special interest.

This is of special interest for our social practice in which a conflict occurs between opposing political and class forces and interests: on one hand, of the interests of the working class for more comprehensive self-management operations, and, on the other, of the interests working for a further monopoly of decisionmaking in our society. Therefore it is very important indeed for the LCY not to permit antiself-management tendencies to remain a brake on further development. It is necessary to settle the score completely and fully with the ideas and forces for restoring etatism; identify those forces in our society and in the LCY that hesitate and leave room for these tendencies; or which contribute to the transfer of material power into extra-institutional and informal shelters from where sociopolitical processes are directed, or where the kind of distribution of forces is arranged that make possible a decisionmaking method which suits them and which, in any case, is of a nonself-management nature.

If this differentiation and action were not to happen, we would hardly be in a position to attain the objective not only of stabilization but, primarily, of consolidating a system of relations in our society that will constitute a stimulus for developing production relations. In order to do this it is necessary to first clarify the questions of the model of market economy that suits socialist self-management relations; second, a comprehensive plan and a program for developing the economy as a basis of our socioeconomic and political system has to evolve, in which context the pooling of labor and resources and self-management mergers within the Yugoslav area must be the paramount and the basic condition. Without pooling labor and resources in the Yugoslav area, the forces and the reasons will continue to operate that generate division both in the economic, political, ideological, and other spheres of social life. Of course, this implies adopting concrete activities and measures to step up production and exports so as to arrest inflation and a fall in the standard of living and of personal income.

These clarified issues and stands, the initial effects in the field of the economy being ensured, can become a true platform for the forthcoming LCY Congress. That is why we are duty-bound to encourage a realistic, critical attitude toward the present practice and persistence in advocating and valuing those ideas, actions, and forces that carry forward the historic development of our society toward socialist self-management. We are not approaching these topical issues either narrowly and pragmatically, or strictly legally, or merely politically, but with the experience of the discussion on the interdependence of all the factors of socialist self-management development of our society, that is to say of the forces and tendencies that reflect genuine -- and that means both concrete and historic -- interests of the working class.

However paradoxically it may appear, this is an expression of genuine progress in developing self-management practice; it is least of all an intimidation of a crisis of socialist self-management, as some people superficially and inaccurately predict.

On the basis of a series of manifestations, we can rightly say that it is not socialist self-management that is in crisis, but the tendencies that oppose it, particularly the etatist tendencies that are providing the most stubborn resistence to the loss of their positions, because the basic reason for manifestations of crisis is mainly in the dual character of our economic system; that is in the operation and even revitalization of the elements of the old system within the framework of the new ones, and in the effect these elements have by acting as a brake on development. This is reflected in the overall inefficiency of the economic and political system, in the development and especially technological stagnation compared with the rest of the world, and also in the immobilization of the subjective factor that feels it is blocked by powerful monopolistic and primarily bureaucratic-etatist forces.

The continuation and intensification of these processes had considerable impact on increasing the concern of working people for the future of our further development. Our working people respect the fact that time and effort will be required to reconstruct production, and the same applies to the wish to follow in the wake of the development movements in the world, but they are very concerned about the inertia and the solution to a number of problems. For these very reasons an exceptionally critical attitude among Communists, working people, and citizens has been generated by the present situation and the relations in our society, ranging from a fall in working people's living standards and various attacks on social property, to destratification caused by big social differences created without reference to work. This destratification occurs because of uneven conditions in running the economy, various forms of embezzlement, the flow of social resources into private ownership, life on unearned income, and the like. Even the existing taxation policy gives too much protection to unsocial forms of production and distribution and does not encourage socialist values, creative effort, and material development. The results was that we entered this year with increased taxation on turnover directly caused by increased prices; that is to say, it has provided an excuse for a section of the economy to go in for supplementary and, in some cases, speculative price increases, thereby fomenting inflation. And it is a fact that the tax on turnover, in economic theory and practice, is considered to be the worst form of taxation. Such measures are unsuitable as regards our social needs and class interests and directly feed social differences.

The fall of personal and social living standards and social destratification have attained a level that is barely acceptable. It is truly alarming that virtually nothing has been done to halt these negative trends during the past 8 months while the public discussion was going on, in which the Communists and the working people voiced very severe criticism of all the aspects of appropriation of social capital and all manifestations of destratification arising from the privatization of social capital. An efficient adoption of concrete measures to arrest this trend, based on reaffirming the criterion of work as the only source of income, is imperative, because any further delay in dealing with this problem will have very negative social and political consequences. Today we are in a situation where a concrete measure will have an effect on these manifestations as a systemic factor and not as a moralistic campaign or witch hunt. In keeping with the basic premise that the problems in this area must also be resolved by reference to the system, it is high time for systemic approaches to this problem to be applied also to the causes. This means that we must clearly identify the points upon which all the shortcomings and mistakes in our economic and taxation policy are concentrated, and must start an open struggle against them.

This consistent approach would at the same time mean clearly distancing ourselves from all attempts to prevent our orientation against social destratification from being turned into an ideological stick against social differences in general, especially those established on the basis of working contributions and in the forms advocated by our long-term program -- more flexible forms of personal work, the development of the craft industry, and intensive agricultural production. Our objective is not to build difficult socialism, but socialism that respects and makes possible all developed human requirements and values. Not ignoring other things, at this point of time it is essential in practice and in action to respect the fact that the people are the basic production factors that, by stimulation and greater productivity and efficiency, will return a multiple of what they are getting as a result of an adequate distribution according to the work done.

What was particularly manifested during the public discussion was the concern of the Communists, working people, and citizens about uncontrolled inflation. Our inflation is an accumulated expression of all the mistakes and uneven aspects of our socioeconomic development; it is also an expression of the efforts for these problems to be resolved without essentially changing the existing structure of production and consumption. This is something that causes the biggest long-term worry and that is manifested as a significant factor of maintaining the existing situation.

The essential cause of all these negative manifestations is the fact that the basic social relationship is not being implemented, that we are not developing social property as a socialist production relationship, and subsequently we do not protect it adequately, and that the established principle of economic, political, and social responsibility regarding the use of social capital has not been implemented through appropriate mechanisms.

Although the situation regarding employment was criticized very severely, the criticism that really goes to the heart of the problem is the one that eliminates the group-ownership appropriation of social capital because it neglects the commitment to increase the income for the sake of using all the working and creative potentials of our society. The number of organizations of associated labor that for years have not increased the number of people they employ, although objective conditions and needs for that exist, is not small. In this context it would be a good thing to reexamine the validity of the present system of personal income taxation. This in fact artificially raises the cost of the participation of current work in the value of production and objectively speaking provides a disincentive for organizations of associated labor to open new production capacities. However, what should be done is to set in motion a parallel extensive ideopolitical action to establish the responsibility of all those who in practice do not fulfill their constitutional commitments to unfold simple and extended reproduction in our society where the employment of new workers then becomes an organic part of extended reproduction. Employment cannot be resolved only by opening new capacities but by making far more use of existing capacities, by a faster turn of resources, and primarily through extensive initiatives by professional unemployed young people to organize various production and service activities where the greatest opportunities are in fact provided by new technologies.

The growth of verbal criticism, even very sharp criticism of these and other major shortcomings in our society and in the LC, and the inability to eliminate these problems faster and more resolutely have established a kind of odd coexistence that has sharpened the question of whose interests and what interests the LC represents.

There are people in our social structures and in the LC who by no means accept all the consequences stemming from the long-term program, mainly the redistribution of social power to the advantage of associated labor and the organization of associated workers upon self-management principles. Although this is the basic direction of the agreed development strategy, which in the long term eliminates the effects of autarchy and bureaucratic control over extended reproduction and of etatist protection of an economic structure once it has been formed, the opposition against social action in this direction is not weakening; it is, in fact, being intensified. It is stated in a facile way that the conditions for such steps have not been established yet. The circumstances are conjured up in a facile way that justifies deviation from the agreed policy without the consequences being borne for this conduct, although the consequences of this behavior are paid by all society. Today this is our biggest malaise. In fact we are not resolute, consistent, and united enough in giving life to the adopted policy.

Although the attitude toward our stands and decisions is a touchstone and a critical point of responsibility and of our revolutionary spirit, not only in the LC but in all other institutions and organizations in our system, perhaps even greater attention should be paid to other component parts of responsibility. These are the responsibility for formulating policy, starting from the basic organization of associated labor and local community up to the major questions of our social development, and the responsibility for the choice of methods and manner for implementing them. One of the major reasons for the LC's inertia is that the position has gained the upper hand that one's responsibility ends with implementing stands and decisions, while the responsibility for their substance and their social consequences devolves on somebody else.

Just as the responsibility for other socially harmful actions is being established, so the responsibility criteria have to be enhanced where mistakes are made in development and investment policy, in the conduct of current policy, in the inadequate and unconscientious use of social resources, in usurping the rights of the working class and of self-management organizations, in pursuing the monopoly of power and decisionmaking on behalf of the working class, and the like. This would make responsibility more complete in the sense that it would cover objective socially harmful consequences and the people who perpetrate them. Because of the delay and lack of resolve to establish responsibility for these mistakes as well, the view is gaining ground that we are not ready to apply the same criteria, that we are insensitive to these manifestations, that we are compassionate and ready to forgive them easily, mainly because the people involved are either ourselves or people close to us. This implied charge must be done away with and the demand must be consistently carried out that responsibility must become concrete and be coordinated with the degree of rights and the power of decisionmaking of every organ and every individual person.

The LC, as a whole, is the most responsible for the fact that socialist self-management processes are stagnating. We are responsible, mainly, for the fact that socialist self-management as the basic production and social attitude and as an essential factor of ensuring stable and dynamic development, still does not get concrete and realistic enough encouragement both in practice and in the quest for new paths and perception regarding its further development.

Obviously the problems in our society have piled up and the contradictions have become exacerbated to such an extent that the key question of the continued march of the revolution and of the political mood of our country is the ability of the LCY to implement the leading role in our society and attain ideological and action unity in the struggle for implementing the interests of the working class and for successfully operating the system of socialist self-management.

For the LC membership, for our working class, and for all social progressive forces, there is no dilemma as to who in this country plays the avant-garde, creative, and revolutionary role. It is the LCY as the ideopolitical vanguard and motivating force of our working class, working people, and citizens in their struggle to further social progress in our socialist self-management community. It is only the ideological and action unity of the LC and of the alliance of organized socialist forces that can help implement their role as the vanguard of the socialist self-management transformation of our society. This is why in public discussion the causes and consequences of ideological and action disunity and their protagonists were sharply criticized. This applies mainly to the manifestation of those attitudes where sometimes nine LCs appear to be operating within it, to the dominant role of the leaderships in the LC, excessive forum work, nondeveloped conflict of opinion in them, and single-track features of democratic centralism that excessively make it an instrument of the forums and not enough an instrument of the membership, which should be the collective factor both for formulating and implementing LC policy. In this connection, our Central Committee and its Presidium have been sharply criticized because they are not efficient in struggling against manifestations of disunity, the violation of democratic centralism, and the federalization tendencies of hoped-for unitarization in the LC and in our society as a whole.

The drift of this criticism is that the LC is being instructed to go on consolidating the class uniform character of our vanguard and to resist, at the same time, the tendencies of returning to the supranational type of organization to develop the independence of the republican and provincial LCs and, at the same time, resolutely resisting federalization tendencies. In this respect, it is very important that a very strong difference should be established between the value of developing the independence of republican and provincial LCs, and the tendencies that are turning this independence against the spirit of LCY unity, just as it indispensable to establish a difference between the class-democratic substance of unity and the bureaucratic-centralistic substance of LCY unity. This is that class substance that combines the unity, as a promise for independence and autonomy, with the responsibility of all LC organs for the jointly established policy and its unified implementation.

Without neglecting the possibility of the revival of federal-party centralism and thereby the duty to wage an energetic struggle against any such efforts, we can, nevertheless, state that the trend toward federalization in the LC, which is manifesting itself powerfully at this point in history, is causing more concern. In this sense the existing relations between the LCY Central Committee and the republican and provincial committees hinder efforts to achieve complete effectiveness in the LC and to conduct uniform ideopolitical action throughout Yugoslavia. This is due to the disproportionate concentration of attention on partial interests, because of which discussions on questions that are objectively of pressing importance are conducted without sufficient familiarity with the real state of affairs in individual parts of the LCY, an approach that gives rise to different attitudes and even mutual misunderstandings in formulating and implementing the agreed policy. In such a constellation of relations the LCY Central Committee's duty is to take more initiative to achieve and realize effective unity in the organizations and organs of the LC in changing the balance of forces and awareness in favor of the working class of all Yugoslavia.

I think the basic direction to be followed in resolving this question is the realization of the program and statutory principle according to which the LCY is a unified organization in which the independence of the republic, provincial, and all other organizations of the LC is a function of their activity as a unified revolutionary organization of the Yugoslav working class. In this sense the LC has to strive to ensure that in their everyday work its members act with self-initiative and are guided and led by the LCY program, congress documents and resolutions, and conclusions adopted by party organs.

Only by following clearly-established goals and using adequate methods will the LC be able to avoid directives, while its members will be able to act successfully and creatively in society without having to hold numerous meetings and sessions if the program of their activity has been determined for a relatively long period of time, and if the workers' historical class interest has thus been clearly defined in every environment and in society as a whole.

This calls for the kind of work that will realize the LC's ideopolitical coherence more vigorously and consistently and for a considerably more flexible flow of initiatives from the broadest rank and file. This means that the line of communications between the central and provincial committees and, through the municipal committees the basic organizations, is becoming more topical because it is in this field that communications and relations are disrupted and initiatives are diverted in a negative manner, in both directions. The LC's strength and influence on trends in society cannot be great if it is achieved largely by arbitrations by its organs, but should be achieved by promoting democratic relations in the organization as a whole. The more active communication line between the rank and file and the leaderships will enable the leaderships to be more creative and responsible, and the working class to exercise permanent control over its party and its leaderships. In the course of this, the justified criticism of the leaderships should not be replaced by the uncritical treatment of the party rank and file, despite the considerably widespread view that the rank and file is always a priori progressive and the leaderships a priori problematic. It is when we speak of these relations as a whole that there is a lack of dialectics. By saying this I do not, naturally, want to diminish or soften any justified and serious criticism of the work of the leaderships, including our Presidium and our Central Committee. A significant step toward overcoming the political-representational function of the LC as a body acting on behalf of the working class is the realization of its role as the inner ideopolitical force of the working class and of socialist self-management. This in turn influences relations in the LC and, above all, the representational component in relations between the rank and file and the leaderships. This opens up fresh possibilities for democratic centralism and creates its new dimensions. However, this process of internally transforming the LC from an organization acting from a position above the system into one acting from a position inside the system is not being realized without contradictions, oscillations, and various forms of resistance that manifest themselves both in the system of socialist self-management and in the LC.

Without a realistic attitude to all this, it is not possible to give a real reply to why the role of the LC, which has been defined clearly in terms of principles, is not being realized as expected; in other words, why should there be so many deviations and so much wavering in everyday practice? It is indicative that in its own work and in the work of our society as a whole the LC is slow in adopting, shaping, and developing genuine methods of activity as a means of accelerating social changes from within, without this amounting either to bureaucratic interference or a liberalist lack of interference in the affairs of self-managing and delegate bodies and their competences.

The expression and realization of the pluralism of self-managing interests calls even more than before for an adequate cohesive and vanguard role by the LC. They manifest themselves only when all the forms and organs of socialist self-management are really tackling the most important questions of society and when the LC is taking part in this as a factor that confirms its vanguard role by struggling for the best solutions to the vital problems of the working class and for the whole of socialist self-management. The ability to wage an adequate struggle for progress in this kind of self-management and this kind of settling of vital working class problems today represents the key criterion for assessing the vanguard role.

Any hesitant, partial, or inconsistent realization of this role opens up more space for political voluntarism, technocratic power, clashes of interests, divisions in the working class, and unchecked damage by the frenzies of egoistic interests. Insufficient effectiveness in this sphere provides arguments in favor of bureaucratic arbitration, on one hand, and the spontaneity of liberalism, on the other. Consequently it is now the LC's duty to act much more vigorously as a social factor that, without assuming the direct duty to resolve social contradictions and differences of interests, gives an impetus to the processes of agreement-seeking, promotes principles, criteria, and the atmosphere favorable for settling problems, tightens the political and moral responsibility of the exponents of this process, and strives to overcome both the divisive forces and also all the trends toward any artificial or externally-induced integrations of concrete and genuinely specific interests.

This also makes it necessary to make the kind of changes in the methods of the LC's central and provincial committees and the LCY Central Committee that will in the period up to the 13th LCY Congress, during the congress, and in its results enable the LC as a whole to be more effective, united, and responsible. The present vital need in this respect is to increase the real power and role of the highest political bodies of the LC (conferences, committees, the congress) at the expense of the independence of their political executive organs. Here, I would say, democracy and unity are inseparable phases in developing the revolution.

Owing to this, it is indispensable that when drawing its conclusions on the basis of the public discussion, our Central Committee should constantly keep a vigilant eye on the way in which unity is achieved and realized in the LCY in the present conditions of the struggle for socialist self-management. However, phenomena that are manifesting themselves are now revealing different ways of approaching the concrete realization of the jointly adopted policy and attitudes. These range from the practice of again raising questions on which agreement has already been reached; in other words, taking actions back to their starting point, to one-sided or unacceptable treatment of specific questions of social practice and theory. The Central Committee must be energetic in criticizing the exponents of such phenomena, regardless of how high the offices they occupy, because such behavior runs counter to the norms of the LC.

Such phenomena are, on the whole, always possible when the concepts of unity and autonomy are treated outside the essence of the social system and the social role of the LC, inside which they possess a strictly instrumental meaning. The extent to which unity will be achieved depends on their correct concrete practical application, not as a political but as a social category whose stability will be greater in that the working class increasingly becomes a subject of social processes.

An important prerequisite for realizing unity in the LC and intensifying its action in society is the change of relations in the field of cadre policy. Despite the fact that the processes of socialization and democratization of cadre policy have started and that the working class, working people, and citizens have given powerful support to the application of its principles and criteria, cadre policy has in practice not yet become the right and duty of the people associated through self-management and of the organized socialist forces. Wherever its principles have not been implemented consistently, open room was left for privatization and for strengthening the monopoly exercized by individuals and informal groups; for the neglect of ideopolitical, moral, and work criteria; for the spread of special favors to friends and relatives; and for the spread of the desire for leadership and demagogy. All this could happen wherever the institution of collective and individual responsibility was introduced partially or one-sidedly, or was completely suppressed.

The rank and file is therefore justified in its request that carrying out the cadre policy and electing cadres for the leading offices at all levels should be decisively influenced by the broadest grassroots instead of being done in various commissions, coordination bodies, and often small informal circles. It is of paramount importance for the election process that the party rank and file should realize their subjectivity when electing delegates and leaderships, in other words that individuals and organs should be responsible to the party rank and file. The question, then, is whether an official feels that his term of office depends more on the will of the party rank and file or on formal or informal cadre groups; whether it is more important to him what the party's grassroots think about him or what they they about him in party organs. The question that arises is whether the possibility of choosing between a large number of delegates is merely a matter of form and not also a question of the very essence of democracy, and whether by abandoning some aspects of democracy one is not also calling in question its very essence. This would strengthen responsibility, destroy monopoly in cadre policy, make the work of election officials more open to the public, and would encourage the speedier inclusion of young specialist cadres.

If we do not focus attention very critically on this question we shall not be able to make the next transition, so necessary for further developing our revolution, from what is fundamentally an observer's position and neutralist view of the present juncture to practical revolutionary activity. We need a comprehensive cadre policy that will ensure this transition.

Owing to the one-sided orientation in cadre policy solely toward the function of the distribution of cadres, the function of creating cadres has been neglected. This has led to an unfavorable concentration of cadres with specialized humanist education in numerous political leaderships and in the organs of state and in the economy. Consequently, today in political and other leaderships there are few cadres with polytechnical training and experience who are capable of drawing the right conclusions from this explosion of computerization, cybernetics, bionics, and general application of science to the key production technologies, thereby facilitating our inclusion on an equal footing in world development in a race that is growing more and more difficult and exhausting owing to the severity of conditions and pace imposed by those who are more highly developed than we are. This means that the suitability of the cadres elected for these key duties should be viewed by their success in direct production and the development of socialist self-managing relations, and their creativity, innovativeness, and prestige won by hard work and the results of work, and not the type of formal authority that goes with the office. This will objectively create space for the workers' greater participation in the leading bodies in the LC, by which the principle of democratic centralism is realized in centralizing the most highly aware part of the working class. This then is a question of continuing the revolution.

In this context the idea and practice of collective work and responsibility is without a doubt a significant step in further democratizing relations in the LC. The principle of collective work and responsibility would be of short duration, as is the previously introduced principle of rotation unless it is supported by vertical democratization along the membership-leadership line. We would have democracy within the forums, but without essential changes in the actual position and role of party membership in collective decisionmaking and responsibility for the work and policy of the LC. In this case, collective work would assume the democratic appearance of a distribution of power within and between the forums, but also the appearance of a unique forum solidarity in translating the idea and the practice of collective work and responsibility into a new aspect of collective power over LC membership.

This is why overcoming the duality of the criteria for assessing the work and responsibility and overcoming the hierarchic structure of leadership constitute a precondition for the functioning of democracy in the communist vanguard. General responsibility applied when organs are concerned and, on the other hand, concrete responsibility when basic organizations and ordinary LC members are concerned can no longer be tolerated. In fact, that practice shows that we are still moving in reverse ratio between the power of decisionmaking and concrete responsibility. In conditions of a socialist self-management society, the life of the LC should rest more on joint responsibility of the membership and the leadership for the overall historic and current-political practice of the LC.

Despite the stringency of the criticism, the LCY as a whole has not lost its confidence and revolutionary potential existing in achievements in our overall social development, experience, and achievements in the working class struggle for socialist self-management and in the aspirations of the working class to assert itself as a decisive force in all the areas of our social life. It must be stated frankly, however, that trust and reputation have not been attained forever. In the future, too, they will depend on the ability of the LC to realistically perceive and to theoretically elaborate the contradictions, tasks, and problems of the present self-management society and, at the same time, to plant the germs of the future into this past.

The responsibility of the organs and the LC as a whole is not only to give direct answers to many present complex problems because that kind of task goes beyond the knowledge of any narrow social group. Their task is to create an atmosphere for rallying and concentrating all creative forces in our society and for widening the front of struggle for socialist self-management, which then makes superfluous the discussions about the transmission-belt position of other organized subjective forces -- the Socialist Alliance, the Federation of the Trade Unions, the Federation of Socialist Youth, the war veterans federation, social organizations, and other institutions of our system. When such a climate has been created, many problems become much easier to resolve because in this practice the difference is established between what favors keeping what we have, what is conservative, and what is contributing to the revolution, assuming an even deeper social meaning and substance. Then the results of socialist self-management, as part of the working class and of the working people, and of their struggle for their own and the general social emancipation generate and bring pressure for other far-reaching and deeply revolutionary steps to be taken.

The maturity of the discussion requires that what is an exception now -- that exceptionally complex and crisis situations are forcing us to hold discussions on most delicate problems -- should become the rule and a normal, routine way of life in the revolutionary vanguard. In so doing, it is expanding the scope for creative dialogue, the exchange of ideas, and Marxist criticism and finalizing the ideological dialogue between the LC and other subjects of our society. Perhaps it could be said that we are not yet managing to draw an adequately clear line of differentiation between the conflict of opinions within identical ideological orientations and liberalistically conceived free circulation of diverse ideological trends, options, and the like. However, regardless of the difficulties of this differentiation, which are made more complex by the fact that our economic, ideological practice provides a boost for intensified nationalism, anticommunism, and other retrograde "platforms" and positions, our choice must be to develop a genuine conflict of opinions. Open communist, principled conflict of opinions cannot have surrogates such as Aesop's language and interrepublican and provincial sparring. This is why, in conditions of intensified activity of opposing orientations, the true answer of the LC is to step up the struggle for further developing socialist self-management and, arising out of that position, the resolve to fight against anything that revives retrograde orientations.

Any replacement of the thesis that would neglect the struggle for socialist self-management and place the weight on the struggle against what is opposing us would be counterproductive and deprive the LC of a significant part of historic initiative. This, objectively speaking, is a crucial factor in giving opposing campaigns and efforts their marginal value.

Our experience warns us that all opposing ideologies are looking for their historic chance in LCY mistakes and that there is no "alternative" that does not emerge as an attempt to take advantage of these mistakes for the breakthrough of assorted ideological platforms. This is why our ideological, theoretical work cannot be reduced to a kind of enlightened instruction whose main objective is to show how an ideological opponent or enemy is not right. If we were to do that, we would also reduce Marxism to a political doctrine instead of developing its further creative possibilities, and, with the freshness of its critical spirit and methods, fully neutralize retrograde historic notions: nationalism, bourgeois restoration, petit bourgeois radicalism, Stalinism, and everything that goes with the attribute of the "strong-arm" policy, and so on.

For this reason, our unity must be both practical and ideological unity. From the practical point of view, it must embrace and coordinate the efforts whereby the way out of crisis situations will be sought within the ambit of genuine historic opportunities and not through improvised solutions that give the antiself-management forces the argument for the claim that since Tito's death we have lost our strategic concept, and that all the difficulties in our society stem from pragmatism and from "overnight" solutions. From the ideological point of view Marxism must rid itself of a number of diamatic interpretative notions (especially their intrusive attempts to depict themselves as the official ideology of the LC), and we must make it attractive to young people who are often inadequately prepared to perceive the contradictions in the construction of socialist self-management.

However, it is precisely in unifying the action and the ideotheoretical aspects that many difficulties are emerging that we have not yet eliminated to a required critical degree. What happens is that because the LCY is the ideological and political vanguard, it is often translated into a tacit stance that the LCY is a ruling party and that there is no need for it to fight actively for its ideology; that Marxism, too, is a ruling ideology and therefore it cannot be seriously threatened by any other ideology. This illusion is possible because some quarters consider that one need not use anti-self-management and antisocialist ideologies to conduct an ideological and political struggle, but mainly a struggle at the publishing and ad hoc levels. Our ideological opponents skillfully take advantage of this vacillation for ideological manipulation in a section of mass communication media, publishing, public platforms, cultural institutions, and the like. Thus, scope has been opened gradually for an increasingly aggressive action of antiself-management and antisocialist tendencies that we have not always efficiently resisted, with the result that negative effects are mirrored in the indoctrination of a section of our youth. This development is suited not only by the routine plodding along with our ideological, theoretical work -- with these tendencies counting on it as a factor that in many respects works to their advantage -- but also by the loss of the critical distance regarding counterideologies, especially the platform of "national reconciliation and rallying." A critical assessment on that has been provided by the discussion on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session because the membership is not satisfied with the way ideological work is carried out, and is aware that its routinization has made the ideology and practice of socialist self-management face unnecessary trials and in so doing reduced the significance and the role they have in our society and in the present world.

The shortest possible summary of the discussion is that a critical attitude and concern by the Communists, working people, and citizens for the situation in our society and in the LC must permanently be translated into its organized activity for further developing our revolution. As a source for the thought and action of the LC, they help the LC more realistically and thoroughly to approach its commitments as a vanguard political source of socialist self-management.

In this context Tito used to stress that our working class, nations and nationalities, and revolution primarily need a united and powerful LC, a party of revolutionary action. In this general party discussion, the LC stayed on the line of the revolutionary axiom that the party exists for the sake of the class, and not the class for the sake of the party, and that the struggle of the LC and the working class for socialist self-management should become that revolutionary process in which the working class itself is cleansed internally and consolidated, and the processes of political and ideological renewal of the LC encouraged. Public discussion places an obligation on the LCY, and especially on all its leaderships, with concrete political actions and orientations -- by deeds and within the system -- to articulate and translate the growing class consciousness into a radical and uncompromising struggle against the present stagnation in the march of the Yugoslav revolution.

For these reasons the Central Committee feels the need to enhance and expand its assessment of the development trends in our society and of the situation in the LC in the new historic situation. This reality found its expression in the draft conclusions and in the draft program of work presented for the session today, which does not provide a new opportunity for further clarifications, but for direct encouragement and pressure for concrete action to change the present situation and relations.

All the most important proposals, demands, and orientations stemming from the discussion will be incorporated in the platform and documents for the forthcoming congresses and conferences of Yugoslav Communists, preparations for which have already begun. This will be an authentic act of collectively formulating the LCY policy at the grass root level and the best guarantee of its consistent implementation. On this occasion the LCY action must not run out of breath or stop half way. If concrete results in changing this situation fail to materialize, the LC would forever impair its reputation and minimize its leading ideopolitical role, which would have unforeseen consequences for the very future of our revolution.

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- The 16th LCY Central Committee Plenum, which has been prepared by the entire party membership during the last 8 months, is being held in Belgrade today. The conclusions on realizing the leading role of the LCY and strengthening its ideological unity and unity of action, which are to be adopted today by the supreme party forum, are the collective work of the members and leaders.

An "Analytical and Informational Review of the Public Debate on the Draft Conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum" and the draft conclusions, drawn up on the basis of suggestions and comments from the public debate, were submitted to Central Committee members at today's session.

At the start of the session the Central Committee members observed 1 minute's silence as a mark of respect for Nikola Raznjatovic, recently deceased member of the LCY Central Committee.

The introductory report was delivered by Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The agenda of the 16th session also includes ratification of the program guidelines for the work of the LCY Central Committee up to the 13th LCY Congress. Given that the draft conclusions in many respects lay down future obligations, the Central Committee members decided to debate both items simultaneously.

Bosko Krunic dwelled on only a few of the issues that dominated the debates in Vojvodina. Stating that there has long been spontaneity in polemics over the political systems, Krunic emphasized that the debates in connection with the draft conclusions have demonstrated that there is no vacillation over the principles and orientations of the SFRY Constitution, and, above all, over the strengthening of the role and self-managing position of working people, and on that basis of the equality of the nations and nationalities, equality and accountability of the republics and provinces. Nothing new, unknown, or alternative in the political system will save us from the rise in inflation, from group-property and particularist appropriations and tendencies, and from uncontrolled and spontaneous price increases.

Self-management integration through association of labor and means of the basis of income can, of course, be replaced by other forms of integration, as is not unknown. Self-management planning may also be replaced by "more efficient" planning, too. But these are not the ways to develop the system of socialist self-management but, on the contrary, its statist aspect.

The theses that the LC has nothing to do if the market is operating, Krunic said, are being expressed more and more vocally. When scope is broadened for the operation of economic patterns, then, according to some people, the LC is more or less superfluous. Efforts for economic patterns are attractive, that is our concept as worked out in the long-term program and in the documents of this Central Committee. But vulgarization and unacceptable ideas arise when the LC and associated labor seem to these champions of economic laws to be superfluous.

Regarding assaults by the bourgeois right, with its campaign of labeling and discrediting, and its linkage with the political propaganda machine outside the country -- in the fact of all this, the worst thing is "defense in isolationalism" -- the LC cannot allow itself to clam up in the face of assaults by the enemy. We have been burdened for too long by the forced and undefined dilemma over crossroads in the development of socialism. In fact, it is most often a case of variations on the theme of statism or self-management, and the conflicts between them. Today these conflicts are most often manifested in the issue of developing the established system of associated labor, equality of nations and nationalities, and in the issue of the LC role. Whenever specific problems and stumbling blocks in realizing and organizing associated labor and in self-management as a whole are blithely described as anarchy in society, we can be sure that they are set in train by the flywheel of statist views on socialism. Accordingly, we have no problems of identity in the system of socialist self-management, but we have problems with criticism of our own practice and conduct in the LC and with the readiness to roll up one's sleeves honestly and get down to work. The debate confirmed this, and it is important that Communists should always take themselves and their own environment as their point of departure.

It is by the action of all, first and foremost the LC, that we must dispel the quite widespread opinion of the LC's inability to give answers to the key questions of the situation of the working class, in order to overcome more rapidly economic difficulties and other problems and contradictions at this stage of the development of self-management. We must vigorously settle accounts with all protagonists of nationalism and with all those who disparage the results achieved, sow doubt and distrust in our way of building socialism, divide the working class, and thereby attempt to dispurse its unity and class interests, Dusan Bogdanov said.

Despite the harshness of the criticism in the party-wide debate the basic values of the system have never, anywhere, been brought into question, Mika Spiljak stressed.

It is clear from this debate that this Central Committee and its Presidium, together with the central committees of the republics and the provincial committees, must work much more rapidly and more decisively, and must take responsibility for the coordination of diverse interests and the reconciliation of stances on major open questions in society.

There are in society diverse ideological, antisocialist, and anticommunist currents that give rise to great perplexity among the LC members, something that the whole debate did indeed demonstrate. Everything is brought into question: Marxism, socialism, as a whole, and our self-managing socialism. Various nationalist and dogmatic forces are also raising their heads. A militant sector of clericonationalism is raising its head, and is becoming a very significant factor in the struggle against our socialist development, launching militant actions against this socialist system. Legalization of the defeated forces in the course of the national liberation struggle is sought, and even Tito and the entire revolution that we carried out with him and are continuing to carry out are being denied. Furthermore, all this is openly published in publications and books. I think we are not making our presence sufficiently felt in analysing all these manifestations and in organizing ideopolitical actions to expose them among the people and among cadres, and we are not mobile enough in this regard. This is one of the serious problems and weaknesses of our work.

On the other hand, and in parallel with this, Spiljak added, we are coming up against our own narrowness and factionalism. As a society we are not open enough toward all patriotic forces. This word patriotism has virtually disappeared from our vocabulary, from our reports, from our conclusions, and it has ceased to exist as though it has become unimportant. We are not open enough to the numerous professional and scientific cadres, workers, and structures of society that are not, to put it frankly, Marxists, but who are patriots of this country, who love this country, are concerned for its future and anxious about where we are leading it, and who are ready to make their contribution to its progress. A partial attitude is adopted, too, toward a large number of religious people who are not clericonationalists. In the course of the national liberation struggle we had no small percentage, did we not, of fighters who were religious people and who fought well and died for the freedom of this country. It did not matter that they were religious; the party accepted them, gathered them together, and led the struggle. We waged battles and won them together with those people. Why do we today forget the breadth of that front we had during the national liberation struggle and in postwar construction, why do we today think -- and otherwise behave and act in practice -- that the LC alone, with its approximately 2 million members, can implement all this; that the LC, relying predominantly on power and authority -- which is the great mistake of many of our actions and approaches -- can extricate this country from difficulties unless it gathers together and mobilizes the other 20 million citizens of this country. Without them we cannot extricate our country from the difficulties in which we find ourselves.

I have attended some party conferences at which no one even mentioned the word Socialist Alliance. We have almost forgotten it, Mika Spiljak said.

I do not know of, nor can I recall, any time when the members have ever directed such harsh, well-grounded, and justified criticism at the LCY Central Committee, as has been done. This fact places a great deal of responsibility on us, Bosko Siljegovic said.

Emotive elements, as well as intrarepublican and intranational doubts and suspicions, become mixed up in mutual accusations, consciously or against our will. We all know, Siljegovic warned, that this can lead to no good, that is, it leads us to destruction and self-destruction. The LCY Central Committee should be the first to assume responsibility for such relations and processes in our society. Opinions, and even political evaluations, exist to the effect that nationalists, the militant clergy, the main protagonists of the opposition, and then technomanagers and established group-property relations, etc. are to blame for such a state of affairs in social relations. None of us would dream of underestimating the political importance of this or that internal political opposition, or the influence of foreign policy factors. But, he emphasized, we must pose the question of what we, mainly the LCY Central Committee, have done to prevent these deformations for assuming such quantity and quality. It would be a good thing for us first and foremost to look to ourselves and not to the nationalists or dogmatists; to see the extent to which the LCY Central Committee has, through its own direct and indirect policy, contributed to this state of affairs and these trends in our society.

I say this, Siljegovic said, because I am dissatisfied with my own work and contribution to the Central Committee. Written conclusions, verbal advice, programs, duels and dialogues, seem to me, unless they change the way things are done, to be just a waste of time.

Siljegovic then spoke about the principle of "everyone is master in his own home," assessing that in the statized republics, this otherwise necessary principle cannot lead to progressive democratic expression and results. Only if we have an LCY Central Committee that acts in a politically forceful, united, and integrated manner, and which especially achieves practical results in self-managing and intranational relations, can we conduct working class policy and on the principle of "everyone is master in his own home." At present this practice operates predominantly defensively and with a disintegrating effect, Bosko Siljegovic said.

Industrial production was increased in January by 1.5 percent. The value of exports in January of this year, compared to January 1984, to the developed countries fell 17 percent, while imports from there rose 51 percent. Inflation, measured by the retail price increase in January compared to December, rose at a rate of 9.2 percent, 36 percent over the 1984 average. This had the effect of raising the cost of living by 10.5 percent and furthering the fall in the living standard. The SFRY Presidency decided that this shows that the positive tendencies achieved in economic activity in 1984 have not been stabilized, and this must be viewed as a very serious warning, Branko Mikulic said. This could jeopardize the realization of vital targets laid down by the resolution for this year and could give rise to unfavorable social and political consequences.

We must also take a very critical view of the very much increased statist tendencies in practice, and the delay in adapting decisions pertaining to the economic system to the stabilization policy; of the way in which numerous people are acquiring wealth on the basis of appropriating social resources and the results of others' labor; and of the obvious weaknesses in the taxation system and the policy and work of social income organs.

LC members and working people demand more direct concern for the daily life and problems of our people, more work, discipline and responsibility, and fewer general slogans and promises, Metodija Stefanovski said. The LCY must incorporate these and similar orientations into the substance and method of its own activity if it wants to measures up to its historic role and responsibility.

Stefanovski then said that the Army, and also our society, has expressed a critical sentiment because of the obvious inconsistency and irresponsibility in the implementation of the stabilization program, and even more so because of the hesitation and opportunism in taking necessary and specific measures against specific negative manifestations and against those who do not implement the program, who hamper it or who in any other way render its implementation difficult or dispute it. He proceeded to mention an example discussed at a session of the Yugoslav People's Army LC Committee. We are unable, he said, to explain how it is possible for rail cars loaded with coal to get as far as Kursumlija, where the engines are uncoupled and driven back because they had no right to transport it further into the territory of the province and vice versa. We have reported this matter to the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The reason for the action is the division within the Yugoslav rail system, just as it is the case with a majority of other big systems. People keep asking questions in this connection, but we cannot always give them adequate answers.

In the conclusion regarding today's session, I think we must clearly decide to change this situation resolutely and radically. The knowledge is widespread in our public, Stefanovski added, that Yugoslavia loses several hundred million dollars every year because of the unfair competition of our enterprises on the foreign market, and that it exports some of our own products at a cheap price while it is importing similar products, or even identical products, at prices that are considerably higher and are paid for in convertible currency.

Stefanovski then said that the Army has organized, and with the greatest of attention followed, the overall course and the results of the public discussion. Our assessment is that the political stance of Army members, their views on the current economic, political, and ideological situation in our society, and their views and orientations regarding the directions of our further development, are in all essential features identical with the assessments, stands, orientations, views, and sentiments of the Yugoslav working class and the broad strata of our population and of all our nations and nationalities. In this context, certain allusions to the unitarist stands of the Army act as an anachronism and as political one-upmanship relative to the ideological orientations of those forces in the society that are and must be united and unwavering in the defense and protection of the authentic achievements of our revolution.

Recently the knowledge and the conviction of our people has been increasingly present concerning the view that disunity is more conspicuous in the leaderships, including the Central Committee. Hence the demands that those cadres who contribute to this situation should be replaced faster and with greater resolve.

The Army has once again expressed the firm orientation of our people concerning Yugoslavia's unity and the need for greater stability of socioeconomic and political relations, Stefanovski stressed. This orientation stems also from the perception and awareness of our army members that unity and equality of our nations and nationalities is in proportion to the internal cohesion of their objectives and interests. Encapsulation, division, exclusivity, and national egotism, carried forward by the power of bureaucracy and etatism, today constitute the greatest threat to the unity, self-management development, and intranational relations in the SFRY. Our assessment is that these and similar manifestations have an adverse effect on the improvement and further development of the overall system of national defense and social self-protection.

Stefanovski also presented the assessment that the number of young people coming into the Army weighed down by nationalism have recently been increasing. The LCY and we in the Army have not yet provided comprehensive ideopolitical and scientifically cogent answers to the question of where the actual roots of nationalism are, and how is it that young people, born and brought up in this society, can succumb to this manifestation.

Our assessment is that manifestations of underrating the danger of nationalism in certain environments are not to be ignored. We also think that some polemical statements by individual senior officials and evident disagreement concerning the solution of action, political, and economic problems foment the nationalistic conduct of young people. The LCY must put an end to the view held by individual people that they are the sole, irrefutable interpreters of national interests, and that in the name of those interests those irrationalities in our economic and industrial life can be justified that compromise our social system and deepen the already difficult and complex problems, Stefanovski stressed.

The LC members resolutely demand, Radisa Gacic warned, the breaking of resistance to the implementation of the stabilization program. This resistance is expressed in the absolutization of the current interests, in the stubborn defense of these interests, and in the desire at any price to preserve the present favorable position of individual branches of the economy, of the regions, and even of the republics -- this position is not the result of the operations of economic laws. It is obvious, he remarked, that this opposition does not occur outside the influence and responsibility of the LC. This is why the Communists demand the greatest possible responsibility from the LCY Central Committee and from the LC republican and provincial leaderships.

Gacic went on to talk about the implementation of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia. We have decided, he said, that LC leadership must bear full responsibility for tolerating all forms of conduct that are inspired by bureaucracy and nationalism, that in the past caused a great deal of harm to the unity of the SR of Serbia. While we are also working for greater cohesion in the republic, and for democratic independence and responsibility of the provinces on the basis of the constitution, we are resolutely against nationalist or bureaucratic-dogmatic concepts that do not see either the one or the other. The socialist autonomous provinces are important gains of our history and of our socialist development and factors of the policy of equality and socialist democracy. The problems confronting the LC of Serbia do not stem from the very fact of the existence of the socialist autonomous provinces, as some people occasionally want to suggest when considering the issue from the centralist point of view. The problem is, how, in practical terms -- especially in its legal and political aspects -- to elaborate more successfully the constitutional orientation that the socialist autonomous provinces are a part of the SR of Serbia. The other aspect of the position of the socialist autonomous provinces -- that they are a constituent element of the federation -- is successfully being implemented, judging by all analyses and perceptions.

The situation in Kosovo has been discussed much in public debate, Gacic continued. Full support has been given to the Communists and progressive forces in Kosovo in their struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Although the political security situation in Kosovo is now more favorable, great concern is still aroused by the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under a variety of pressures. It has been demonstrated that no commissions or routine discussions in the absence of a comprehensive sociopolitical action, which implies efficient work of state and self-management organs and a stronger presence by subjective factors in every special case, can essentially change a political climate that has an overriding impact on emigration. One of the reasons that has a negative impact on establishing more favorable conditions for the solution of this problem, which is the most serious consequence of nationalist irredentist activity in Kosovo, is the fact that the attitude in the Yugoslav area further afield toward these and other questions of the Kosovo situation is uneven. If we follow the critical spirit of the public debate, we cannot appear at the LC Congress without a comprehensive and objective analysis of the implementation of the platform on Kosovo. The Communists demand this from the leaders in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, Gacic stressed.

Speaking of the LC, Gacic noted that the principle of democratic centralism in the LC is, to a greater, extent, under a threat. Many forms of relations between the leaderships of the LC's of the republics and the provinces, and also the relations within the LCY leadership, have started to follow the logic of statist and national divisions. Should these tendencies continue, the LCY will slide into the kind of internal relations that will make it a mere collection of fully autonomous entities incapable of expressing the united interest of the Yugoslav working class. LCY federalization processes are present. This is why this question must be given one of the priority positions in the preparations for forthcoming LC congresses. The LCY must resolutely resist the aforementioned tendencies.

The young people demand a united LC and enhanced responsibility of those who violate it. Disunity in the LC is reflected also in the building of unity in the Federation of Socialist Youth, said Zugic-Rijavec Silvija.

The LC, she added, inadequately monitors the developments, manifestations, and problems of the young generation. Little is known about the causes of the present situation, and the ability to forecast future processes among the young generation is inadequate. Primarily for these reasons, I believe that the draft conclusions treat inadequately the problems of young people and inadequately indicate how these problems are to be resolved.

In our public discussions there are no differences or disagreement relative to our concepts. We all opt for self-management and socialism, but in specific situations the differences manifest themselves with all their negative consequences, most frequently in the form of nonfulfillment of adopted and agreed guidelines upon class and constitutional foundations, Miha Ravnik stressed. Also, in the material for the session today, the public debate emphasis on the questions on which different stands were adopted, are not visible enough and sometimes are even contradictory. One cannot see what the areas and environments there are in which there is the greatest polarization of these contradictory stands.

Also, in the preparations for LC congresses there is no need to start from scratch in laying down long-term social development objectives or, to put it differently, the objectives of the strategy of our revolution. We have opted for this strategy in the LCY program, in our Constitution, and in the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, and we shall make this strategy concrete in the synthesis of the results of our critical analysis of the operation of our political system. The debate on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum called not for a change of this strategy, but its implementation and greater revolutionary consistency and efficiency of the LC regarding its implementation, he stressed.

Ravnik then said that we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that one of the reasons for our slowness and inefficiency is that our political subjective forces do not operate as they should. The presence of the Central Committee and its Presidium should be felt to a far greater extent in instances when, for example, we feel that the assemblies cannot reach appropriate solutions because the sociopolitical possibilities and conditions, which must be ensured by sociopolitical organizations, especially by the LC, had not been created beforehand. And because such decisions are not reached (and objectively speaking this is not possible) we say that our political system is inefficient, whereas it is a fact that we have failed in doing the preliminary political work in the SAWPY, that is to say, the LC failed to play its integrative role in our political system.

Ravnik remarked that the shortcoming of the material for the session today is precisely in the fact that it does not make a distinction between what is essential, what is less essential, and what is not essential at all.

Having said that, we must appear at the forthcoming congress with specific results. Miljan Rudovic [name as received] pointed out the need for highly educated cadres to have closer links with the LC. In this context he also said that committed Marxist thought must be developed to a greater extent. He described the attacks by opposition forces as being a consequence of the LC's inadequate activity. In this view, ideological struggle must be waged on an open scene with the force of arguments, and he views this as an opportunity to push opposition views onto the fringe of social events.

While not underrating the efforts our society is investing in overcoming the present situation, we must all be concerned by some manifestations in intranational relations, and also by the way we are conducting the struggle for the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, in view of our slowness in building up our economic system, Marko Orlandic said.

The LC is weighed down, Orlandic went on, by members without revolutionary, Marxist, and, frequently, moral criteria. The extent to which opportunism and conformism have penetrated the LC ranks, and the extent to which the interest and the responsibility of a section of party membership has declined, is best illustrated by the attitude of the Communists toward usurpation of social property, in which not infrequently party members take part. This attitude toward social property, which is at the basis of socialist self-management production relations, Orlandic stated, is the crudest and most serious form of implementation of an utterly unacceptable situation both in the LC and in some social environments.

The preparations for the 13th congress offer both a chance and the commitment for us, both in the statute and in practice, to sharpen the criteria for LC membership and to eliminate everything dragging it to its gradual federalization and immobility, and to everything that makes it not militant enough and inadequately capable from the action point of view. I am convinced that this is also the way for differentiation on a continuous basis and to allow the LC to quickly get rid of the yet not surmounted feeling of the party in power and of bureaucratic-centralistic habits, that is, to allow it to transform itself more quickly into a united revolutionary vanguard that has an irreplaceable role in our society and in the development of our system.

The 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum and the discussion about the draft conclusions are the result of a rather bold line of the LCY. Following the 12th congress, Milan Pancevski stressed, the cadre policy as one of the strategic instruments to secure workers-class and self-management relations in our society must be one of the central questions of LC involvement.

The views that have been expressed and the critical perception of the broadest basis of the LC, its members, organizations, and organs throughout the country, not only faithfully illustrate the present sociopolitical situation but are also a reliable pointer for further LC action, Munir Mesihovic said.

However, the LC is not adequately fulfilling its leading role in mobilizing our working class and our working people and citizens. It is a fact that the Communists very often shut themselves in their organizations and leaderships and do not operate sufficiently in the Socialist Alliance or in other self-management organization groups, which is also one of the expressions of the overwhelmingly forum type of work.

Much is being written about the crisis in self-management, Veselj Morina said. The temperature is rising regarding this matter. We believe that this is not the case because the crisis is only in the people called upon consistently to implement self-management. This refers primarily to LC members who, with their attitude and conduct, are themselves contributing to this situation.

During the discussion the question of the moral image of Communists, which in the case of a great number of LC members, Morina remarked, has been somewhat lost, had been present to a considerable extent.

Speaking of the results of the public debate in Kosovo, Morina particularly referred to the demand that a higher value be put on productive work. In conclusion, Veselj Morina observed that the proposed text of the conclusions does not differ much from the previous ones, and that they should be even sharper, more specific, and even more binding on all Communists and progressive forces.

The general party discussion, of which we are providing a summary today, has very graphically demonstrated the deployment of forces and the ideological and political situation in our society and in the LCY. In the political context, no doubt the most important fact and knowledge is that an overwhelming majority of the Communists and the broadest strata of our society have opted very firmly for socialist self-management, Miljan Radovic said.

Having mentioned the examples of individual books, newspapers, platforms, symposia, films, theater performances, and public information media that directly or indirectly present ideologically unacceptable theses, Radovic said that ideologically unacceptable ideas are getting through also in the areas of science, education, and schooling, offering primarily a concept of encapsulation, autarchy, and very often the concept of nationalism, too. Nationalists usually appear as people concerned about the position and development of their own nation and their cultural and material prosperity. Along this line they often collaborate with or rely on clericonationalism, which has recently been heard of and has operated with increasing frequency and in a more aggressive way by politicizing religion, advocating partnership, and proclaiming itself protector and guardian of its nation and its cultural and national identity.

I think, Radovic said, that we could agree on the assessment that, regardless of the more intensive and aggressive action by our ideological opponents, that is not the result of their strength but primarily an expression of our lapses, mistakes, and shortcomings of which they, as usual, very skillfully take advantage.

However, as far as the activities of individuals or groups designed to undermine and wreck our constitutional system are concerned, there really should be no dilemmas and hesitation here, irrespective of the conditions in which our society is. In addition to ideological and political measures, the measures provided for by law must be taken without hesitation. This must always be done publicly, and they must be backed up by cogent arguments, which will always, as previously, receive the broadest support of our people, Miljan Radovic said.

Kolj Siroka stressed that the draft conclusions of the 13th session boosted the activity of the LC and other organized socialist forces in the country. The debate on the draft conclusions had been conducted, in the LC and in SAWPY, and in youth, trade union, and other organizations. I believe, he added, that we have created the conditions whereby the LC conclusions, when adopted, will no longer have to be explained and that leaderships and membership will implement them.

Referring to specific results in the province, I think, Siroka added, that we have managed to usher in some processes that suggest that the question of halting the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo can be overcome. By organizing specific actions, especially in work organizations and collectives that set themselves specific tasks and established programs, we have obtained what is the most important thing -- that this problem, complex and difficult as it is, can be resolved.

Regarding the struggle against counterrevolutionary forces and tendencies, Siroka said, the fact has to be borne in mind that these forces and tendencies have been pushed off the scene, and that heavy body blows are being constantly dealt against them. He added, however, that one should entertain no illusion that the enemy will not raise his head again -- if he is permitted to do so.

Siroka pleaded for enhanced conviction that organized socialist forces in the province are scoring good results by not ignoring and not belittling the objectively still big difficulties with which they have to cope. In his view, if we were not to stress these good results, it would be harmful for the positive developments in Kosovo. In this respect, he said in conclusion, we have been receiving, and I hope that we shall go on receiving, the support of the LC and of the entire LCY.

It is necessary not only to link, but also to separate the business and the responsibility between LC organizations and organs at various levels so that the LC's envisaged role in our society can be carried out in terms of the totality of the activity of the organization, Nandor Major stressed.

I believe that the criticism was rightly addressed to the Central Committee because certain macroprocesses at our society's level, especially the development of production relations, have been a problem during the last 7-8 years and have obviously become the basic cause of the socioeconomic crisis in which we have landed. The responsibility of the Central Committee for that can in no way be the same as, say, the responsibility of basic organizations, even if there were a factor of the formulation of the overall party policy to the extent demanded of them.

One cannot, he said, over a long period of time resolutely proclaim a development in one direction and increasingly move in the other direction. Under these conditions the leadership is increasingly losing a genuine opportunity to build ideological and action unity because such developments of necessity erode the awareness of the people both inside and outside the LC.

I believe, Major said, that the key question for us is whether the LC, and especially the Central Committee, can ensure that steps are taken in appropriate organs which with processes on the macrolevel will convincingly ensure a significant extension of socio-ownership relations. The session today must contribute to that because, if this does not happen, for a long period of time self-management relations will be in a state of stagnation and degradation, while state-ownership relations will continue to strengthen.

If we want to succeed we must change the LC's method of work. If we do not free basic organizations from tedious meetings for the meetings' sake, and if we do not introduce freer forms of work and consultations between groups of Communists, who from one case to another are responsible for specific questions, matters will not improve, Nandor Major said.

In the view of Radovan Vlajkovic, the central issue is how the LC is realizing its leading ideopolitical role. I emphasize this, he said, because it seems to me that with this document we are not elaborating our already well-known stances on the LC role in the sense of its function in the system, so it may be thought that we are abandoning what we have previously mastered in that respect. This is important, too, because it is proposed that these conclusions should be the foundation for the platform to be drawn up for the 13th LCY Congress. The key element in the leading ideological and -- I would say -- cohesive force of the LCY is its action in creating the system of associated labor, or, to put it more accurately, its action within associated labor.

The essence of the issue is in who resolves the contradictions: the protagonists of diverse and sometimes even conflicting interests directly, or the state, or the surrogates of the state, or even technocratic intermediaries.

The guideline of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor is that these contradictions should be overcome and resolved by the working class alone, through self-managing agreement making and contracting, and, of course, through coordination of interests, and not by someone acting on behalf of the working class.

The LC must, once and for all, start to wage a specific struggle to transfer the focus of decisionmaking on reproduction in society to associated labor itself, and primarily on the basis of the organization of associated labor. We have not won this battle and are still only at the start. We must begin to arrange things in such a way as to eliminate the opportunism that has recently become prevalent in our ranks. The present practice of decisionmaking on income is only partly carried out in the basic organizations of associated labor. Decisionmaking on expanded reproduction is in various different forms and monopolies outside associated labor. Unfortunately, our work also amounts to operating in accordance with such places of decisionmaking. Therefore what we have in practice is the phenomenon of a coupling of the LC with techno-structures and the state apparatus. Matters must thus be turned in such a way that the LC shifts the focus of decisionmaking on income, to the organization of associated labor itself; we must not adapt to the decisionmaking that the technocratic structure and the practice of the state property and group property monopoly have imposed. There is another issue that must be cleared up, too, and that is our tolerance of the whole campaign conducted against the basic organizations of associated labor.

Milka Planinc: The conclusions and the public debate have opened up all the themes of this society, but I was particularly struck by something in Comrade Hamdija's report that I do indeed support. That he is, said that we must not run out of steam. I concur with this and consider that the LCY has the greatest responsibility to take up the initiative and criticism opened up by the debate on the conclusions of the 13th session, and to continue action that would aim to give answers to the questions not only of "what," for the orientation of membership and leadership is nevertheless unified here, but also to start to talk more about "how," and to carry out the action which will ensure this.

Having asked whether we will have exhausted ourselves by the time of the congress in writing conclusions, resolutions, and documents, and in establishing unity over the formulations, Milka Planinc said that the emphasis should be placed on a creative approach to what we have agreed upon, and to launching action within the whole of society in order to accomplish it. I must tell you, she added, how hard it is for me, and I believe for you, too, and I can well believe for workers, the public, and the people, to hear such marvellous words as: workers should be masters of income; workers should have the dominant role in society. This has been repeated for so long that it is already an aphorism. It really is hard to listen to this, and our real question today is how to take down the blockades and start to more decisively realize and change the state of affairs in society.

A great feal of time is lost in general guidelines. Let us be quite clear about this. I do not mean lost in just these last 2-3 years, but over a much longer time. And it is high time that action should be firmly got under way. I believe, Milka Planinc added, that each of the topics put forward in the work program of the LCY Central Committee must be constructively thought through, and should be drawn up in such a way that we can go into action, that the LC operates within the system and not outside it, and that, while continuing to maintain a critical attitude toward state organs, there should be a shift toward self-management in the production relation and the delegate system, that we should genuinely start to change this state of affairs to ensure that in production relations workers also acquire a real opportunity to express their interests.

Alongside all the proposals for a possible further development of the political system, it is certain, Milka Planinc said, that the basic production relation of self-management is not brought into question -- the relation from which proceeds the delegate system in sociopolitical communities, in self-managing interest communities, in banks, and in all those sectors of society where income goes.

I should like someone to refute me here. For years these two systems, the production relation of self-management and the delegate system,have been operating autonomously, each for itself. There has been no link between the two just because of a lack of activity on the part of the subjective factor. And until we do this, republican statism cannot be destroyed, and the republics cannot be turned into self-managing communities that permit association of labor throughout Yugoslavia as a whole, in accordance with the logic of workers' interest. I therefore advocate that we start to change this. Of course, I often ask myself whether the LC is suited for these changes, for many changes have taken place, new cadres have grown up. We have many profiles in the party leaderships that are no longer, according to their capabilities, revolutionaries and cadres of the vanguard in the true sense, but investors, to put it simply.

I am profoundly convinced that associations, which integrate Yugoslav associated labor as a whole, are not possible without the active and direct involvement of the LCY Central Committee in these direct processes. We should not create schemes, [word indistinct] organizations, and decide where the income is to go, but should initiate and set in motion those activities that will lead to that.

I heartily welcome the first step in association of the metal processing workers and metallurgists of Yugoslavia. These negotiations have been going on for 6 years. Do we really think that we shall wait 6 years for each of the others, or is it really necessary to sit down with them and see what problems worry them, what the hitches are, what structure -- republican or technocratic -- of some composite organization of associated labor, or some other structure is preventing association? If we leave things to operate spontaneously, then the picture will continue more or less as it is. I propose specific action, for otherwise we shall have composite organizations of associated labor that will claim to be all-Yugoslav on the grounds that they have some little plants somewhere, or some tiny factory or other. That is not the way. These are not the integrating processes upon which self-management either proves itself or fails. For, Planinc emphasized, the world is integrated either on the principles of state socialism or of multinational companies, and I do not know how it is that we, it seems, are only satisfied with having a few large composite organizations of associated labor, while all others are not. Look at these composite organizations of associated labor now. They cooperate with one another very poorly, or only to a marginal degree, but if they were to join together in development projects for Yugoslavia, in exporting, in scientific research and its application, then together they could do something to bring that productive capacity, that fundamental production relation that should mobilize the workers, to its true strength. As unassociated, unlinked, and split up in Yugoslavia as they are, they will have no force, and certainly not for "competition" with the world and in the world, Milka Planinc said.

Currently individual organizations and leaderships of the LC too often set themselves up as some sort of "elite" that only observes social events, expresses its opinion and comments on them, and evaluates the work of others, especially of leaderships. A great deal more is expected of LCY members. By force of argument and by personal example they must initiate and execute the right decisions and changes. Unless the LC operates in this manner, it will cease to be a vanguard and will increasingly lose itself in pragmatism and will aspire to power. It will then turn into an ally of statist and technobureaucratic forces, Marjan Rozic said. This issue is a topical one, for in the debate Communists and other working people called for certain party leaders to put an end to their flirtation with statism and technocratic manifestations, and for the "old" ties between state and party structures to be broken off.

It is not the case that the LCY loses prestige if some Communists, certain leaders or forums lose prestige, Rozic commented. Nor is it true that people lose confidence in the system of socialist self-management if they refuse to accept it in verbal form alone, if they are against it being reduced to mere participation, or against it being turned into a formality used to conceal egoism, idleness, privatization, and other manipulations. Self-management is regarded neither as a magic wand, nor as empty promises, but people seek the real socialist content of self-management.

The Communists at the 21 May works, Priboj motor works, Crvena Zastava, and Communists from Kumanovo, Kolasin, Pljevlje, Zagreb, and many other places send word: The unity of the LC must come before all other interests, and whoever is against the LC must be named, impeached, and replaced, for he does not represent the interests of working people and the opinion of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, Radenko Puzovic stressed. We must now get moving on this demand, which is in any case present in all environments and which occupies a dominant place in the materials and conclusions, as our most important task. It is the prerequisite of broad but specific action in every environment, along the lines of clear differentation and accountability. Leaderships are reproached, Puzovic went on, for criticizing in general terms, manifestations of lack of unity, infringement of democratic centralism, the tendency toward federalization of the LC, nationalism, and bureaucratic usurpation. What our society and working class need is a united LCY, and that means a united LCY leadership. The LCY Central Committee must be a united, decisive, and efficient organ that will at the right time have a stance on every important issue, know what it wants, and what it does not want. Only through such work and such a way of operating can it secure the confidence and full mobility of the membership.

Radenko Puzovic went on to comment that the members have pointed out that a great deal of political damage is done to the LC and all of society by the public statements of certain officials that are not in accord with the jointly established directions of activity. Expression of personal views and disagreement or polemicizing after standpoints have been adopted sow ideological confusion, give rise to indignation among the working class, and create scope for disunity and even factional activities. What is particularly worrying is that we had such manifestations following the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum, too, Radenko Puzovic said.

The debate also dictated the programs of work for all organizations and leaderships of the LC, and the issues raised in it must have priority in their work, Vojko Srzentic said. The demands of the members must be respected, and no leadership that does not want to risk being alienated from the members and the even graver erosion of its authority and confidence, should fail to heed these.

Permanent foundations for unity in the LCY and our society can only be based, in Srzentic's opinion, on the unity of the working class of the SFRY. Unity, however, will not be secured just by insisting on it all the time, for it can be developed and consolidated only through persistent, organized, and responsible efforts to eliminate from socioeconomic and political relations those causes that lead to the statization of these relations, to group property appropriation, and erosion of the essence social property. This is now being manifested in the very pronounced tendencies to disintegration, isolationism in basic organizations of associated labor, and within municipal, republican, and provincial borders, and in the fragmented nature of our economy and the nonfunctioning of the unified Yugoslav market. Srzentic then stressed that the LC is reproached most of all for inconsistency and lack of unity in implementing the agreed political stands and decisions. This relates to both organizations and organs of the LC. Now lack of unity in the leaderships is the most popular target for criticism, and rightly so, for lack of unity in leaderships creates dilemmas and confusion among the members and leads to a weakening of efficiency and accountability on a broad scale.

Lack of unity in implementing the democratically agreed stand and the quite widespread practice of intepreting them differently causes confusion and anxiety, however. We frequently, for instance, interpret in different ways and in greater depth the crystal-clear stand on certain issues in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. Some officials blithely describe certain proposals for development of the economic and political system as unconstitutional, even though jointly adopted stand of the LCY Central Committee exist on these. This is done under the thin disguise of an alleged defense of certain self-managing principles, although what is in fact involved is the defense of partial material interests. The most recent example of such behavior is the debate on the new planning law, and on a number of issues relating to the political system. The LCY Central Committee, in particular, is reproached for tolerating for such a long time such disunity of views on issues upon which jointly adopted stands exist, and even when this is done from its own rostrum, too.

It is due to a state of affairs such as this that the LC members rightly demand a reaffirmation of the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY as a fundamental principle of its internal life and work.

Without democratic centralism in the LCY, it is impossible to achieve integration of diverse self-managing interests in the system of socialist self-management. In fact, it is because of violation of the principle of democratic centralism that spontaneity and disintegrational tendencies have broken through, as well as federalization of relations in the LC, Vojo Srzentic said.

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["Session of the LCY Central Committee -- Proceedings" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 March (TANJUG) -- Despite the fear that it may well produce an opposite effect, the frankness in presenting the problems has proved once again that the LC has the courage and the strength to look its mistakes straight in the eye, said Svetislav Dolasevic. It is not accidental that in addition to Communists a considerable number of workers, too, come with problems to the LC organizations and organs because they still see the LC as their own organization, their own support. This is why we should not allow this confidence of our working people and citizens to be let down.

In addition to basic orientations designed to improve the overall work of LC organizations and organs and of other sociopolitical organizations, the Kosovo Communists are facing the tasks and measures -- and during the debate these tasks and measures were stepped up, said Dolasevic -- on the further stabilization of the political situation in the struggle against all forms of enemy activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, against manifestations and activity of other kinds of nationalism, and to strengthen brotherhood and unity and great mutual trust among the members of nations and nationalities. Events are more vigorously reacted to and the activity to curb all forms of enemy actions has been stepped up. The political work to unmask the platform of enemy activity by individuals has been continued and stepped up. Of course, this does not mean that the enemy has given up its activity. Although at reduced intensity, he is trying to be heard through slogan daubing, distribution of pamphlets, and causing damage. It is becoming more and more clear, Dolasevic added, that to underrate the danger of enemy activity can only weaken our efforts designed to stabilize the political and security situation.

Public debate has confirmed that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is the most complex part of the political situation in Kosovo. The measures that are being taken have produced some results, but this is a far cry from the general demand that this process should be stopped. In a great number of environments the Communists and the working people have seriously accepted what their tasks and responsibilities are, but there still are some environments where this has not been done to the extent that is required to halt this process.

The questions, observations, proposals, and suggestions made by the LCY members during the public debate regarding the problems tied to the financing of the LC, have not been mentioned in the information and analytical summary of the public debate, said Anica Kuhar. However, she added, it would be wrong and unacceptable if at the session today we fail to indicate these manifestations and problems which, because of their topicality, presented these observations.

LC members in many organizations in all the republics and provinces critically, and in some environments with dissatisfaction, made observations in connection with the financing of the activities of the organs and organizations of the LC, mainly from the point of view of paying membership fees and their use. Critical observations were linked with negative aspects in the work of the LC, such as disunity, especially in its leaderships, irresponsibility, privatization of decisionmaking, inadequate political activity of the organs and of party workers, and inadequate rationality and economies when spending the resources of the LC.

Anica Kuhar also recalled that in the discussions about financing the LC, there was criticism of the great number of senior officials and other workers employed in the LC. It is believed that political orientations concerning deprofessionalization are not carried out. The view is held, and I think rightly so, that the constant growth of the people employed in the organs of the LC is the result of the method of work of the organizations, and especially of the LC organs, ranging from municipalities to the federation.

We are not yet completely aware of the importance of the all-party discussion that was set in motion by the 13th Central Committee Plenum, Ivo Fabinc stressed. We only know that nothing can be as it was before the discussion.

The main message which comes from the grass roots, Fabino stressed, is firm support for the strategic orientations of our socialist self-managing society. In this respect there is no need to convince ourselves of our unity.

In situations where we are searching for a synthesis, Fabinc went on, one must not maintain an atmosphere of waiting and one must not wait for the results of this or any other Central Committee session. It is not the tradition of our party to take action only after theoretically favorable conditions have been created. The party has always taken action when action was needed, often in difficult circumstances and acting in hostile surroundings.

The Central Committee must wage actions not for its own sake, but for the sake of implementing particular tasks and it must know how to wage successful actions. This is the essence of its responsibility that nobody can remove.

While stressing that we are making serious efforts to overcome the high level of inflation, economic stagnation, serious unemployment, or insufficient employment of people and economic potential, with our great difficulties in maintaining foreign liquidity and a high level of dependence on credits, Fabinc said, the application of so-called realistic instruments of economic policy are proving counterproductive and well-known market regulations appear in a distorted light.

With the intervention of the IMF the situation, as we all know, is only getting worse. It has turned out that placing heavy emphasis on some categories in excess of the dynamism clearly established in the anti-inflation program in the given situation, has led to serious disruptions that we must now systematically eliminate with maximum efforts and political patience. Let this be a warning to us so that we do not rush into similar projects under pressure from those who demand speedier illusory results in a situation in which this country neither can nor shouldendure this, Ivo Fabinc said.

I propose that by the start of the congress we should give a statutory form to the obligation, which should be a regular right of the members and a regular duty of the party leadership and of the Central Committee to cultivate and develop living communication lines with this powerful subject, the broad grass roots of the party rank and file, as was the case during the public discussion, Mirko Ostojic said.

Yugoslavia won its international affirmation, Ostojic said, by struggling for years, with Tito at its head, for its independence and sovereignty, which gave encouragement to numerous other peoples. Another factor characterizing Yugoslavia's position has been its well-known role in the Nonaligned Movement. In this respect internal development has also played a significant role. Self-management and the reforms we have carried out on that basis over the past 20 years and especially our new Constitution have made our country the subject of great and lively interest.

If we are to preserve and further enhance the great international prestige we have given during the past decades, we must be able to cooperate more resolutely with each other on the basis of the stabilization program. No diplomatic service, Mirko Ostojic said, however vigorous and competent it may be and even if it were more vigorous and competent than our own, can maintain a country's international prestige if that country, because of its total capacities or other reasons, losses its specific political gravity.

The conclusions we are to adopt at this session, whichever way we formulate them, cannot provide answers to all the questions raised during the public discussion, which far exceeded the group of themes contained in the draft conclusions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. However, this does not mean that we can leave this session without first reaching full accord and without having pure and clear attitudes on the fundamental and key questions concerning the role of the LCY in our society, the role of its organs, and above all the place, role and responsibilities of the Central Committee today in the exceptional economic and other difficulties in which our country has found itself, Zivan Vasiljevic stressed.

The autonomy of the LC republican and provincial organizations should not be an obstacle to the realization of the principle of democratic centralism and united activity resulting from the attitudes and decisions of the LCY Central Committee. The leader of the republican and provincial leagues, by the nature of things, share the responsibility for the implementation of the conclusions adopted by the Central Committee, Vasiljevic said.

He pointed out the duty of the Presidium to maintain constant contact with the republican and provincial committees in order to have an insight into and take part in the implementation of attitudes and conclusions. He proposed that starting with the next session and all the way to the congress, the LCY Central Committee Presidium should report at every Central Committee session on the most important problems encountered in the implementation of what has been agreed and decided at the preceding session or sessions. It would also be a good thing, he added, if it also reported on any possible problems in its own work, because such problems, as we know, have also manifested themselves over the past period.

Zivan Vasiljevic recalled that at its 13th session the LCY Central Committee decided on convening a conference of the LCY to carry out an analysis of the public discussion before the LCY Central Committee session.

Today again, proceeding from the LCY statute, I should once more like to propose that we organize and convene a LCY conference in the period before the congress with a specific and significant agenda, such as social questions and employment. It could, for example, also discuss the position of the young generation in our society and the realization of the role of the LCY in the vanguard of organized socialist forces.

Instead of having innumerable meetings, conclusions, and programs of the kind that we have previously been entering in our political balance sheet, by holding this discussion we achieved what we have so far not been able to boost about, in other words direct communications with the grass roots, said Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, the first speaker at today's discussion at the 16th LCY Central Committee session.

The discussion showed that contrary to certain views the workers are not afraid of the accumulation of problems facing this country, although they are aware of the fact that no other social stratum will have to carry a burden as heavy as they are now doing and though they know what awaits them in the coming years of the realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. The discussion also showed that the workers are not satisfied with the state of relations in our society and that they have very serious criticisms to make about the way the LC and other social subjects represent and realize thier interests. This is the basic reason why workers are losing confidence in the LC, the trade unions, and other sociopolitical organizations. The LC has the most prominent place in this discussion because it cannot share its historical responsibility for the state of affairs in society with others, Nedeljkovic said.

The discussion further showed that apart from speaking about the gravity of economic and social problems, the workers also demand greater responsibility in the LC as the sole guarantee that the existing difficulties will be overcome and that the goals of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization will be achieved. In this respect, as you know, we are lagging.

The demand voiced, without any apologies, is that in their everyday activities and in their organizations in the repulics and the provinces, in the municipality, in their party committees, and also in the Central Committee Communists should proceed from the authentic and common interests of the working class and the principle of democratic centralism and not follow the logic of "their" own environments and the interests of the groups to which they belong.

The LC and this Central Committee must be in favor of those changes in relations and behavior that are also demanded in the basic part of the long-term program, because these relations and types of behavior reproduce a crisis situation and feed the partially statized interests at the expense of self-management. The LC must do this since by virtue of its constitutional postion it is responsible for the total state of affairs in our society, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic said.

Milan Dzajkovski: Disunity in the LC and, above all, in its leadership was assessed very critically. At today's session of the Central Committee, Milan Dzajkovski said, we are summing up the results of the discussion, but at the same time the session provides us with a opportunity to reexamine attitudes and the degree of our unity on which depends the successful implementation of the agreed policy, especially that part of it that stems from the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. We cannot and must not ignore this aspect of the discussion.

It is becoming quite certain that time is not on our side and, consequently, we cannot accept the view that the settling of unsolved questions should await better times. This is true because these better times are not going to come to us on their own, but also because the inertia created by the status quo exacerbates the situation still further and brings this to the point where retroactive readiness to change something can no longer have any practical effect. We face numerous unsolved questions that have mainly been caused by inconsistency in implementing the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.

If the LC does not make a serious effort to completely clear up questions and if, as previously, we allow support for the opposing trends to be voiced in the form of the same arguments, in the name of self-management, and in the name of associated labor, then it goes without saying that the course of development will be a serious threat to our entire unified development.

The very fact that the future belongs to the young indicates the need for them to be builders and not passive observers. How can we demand that the young know how to self-manage and develop democratic relations, if we do not make them participate in these processes, Sanija Hiseni said.

Speaking about the problems of the young, in particular in Kosovo and the work of the Communists among them, Sanija Hiseni stressed the significance of intensified activity on the ideological front. This, in her words, in necessary not only on account of the public actions by antisocialist and antiself-managing forces, but also because there are certain ideological dilemas among a section of party members, citizens, and in particular the young, caused by difficulties in the current social life.

Negative phenomena in society cause indignation and exert an influence on the consciousness of the young. Major social differences, which are the result of idleness and various manipulations, also influence the orientation and mood of the young generation. Ideological confusions that are being created only burden this orientation and mood of the young generation. Subjective and unrealistic assessments of the situation in Kosovo, assessments of the work of certain organs, institutions, and tested cadres, and the disparagement of the efforts that are made are a hindrance to our activity while they render a service to the enemy.

Dealing with the problems of the young in Kosovo, Sanija Hiseni singled out the problem of unemployment.

At the provincial self-managing interest community for employment, over 100,000 people are registered as unemployed, over 70 percent of whom are young people. Their national structure is as follows: 79.7 percent are Albanians; 13.1 percent, Serbs; 1.3 percent, Montenegrins; 0.1 percent, Turks; 2 percent, Muslims; 2.1 percent, Romanies; and 0.1 percent, others.

We, as a society, have still not found an adequate solution that would make it possible to absorb professional, capable young cadres at a time when they can contribute most to the general development of society. We in Kosovo believe, Sanija Hiseni said, that by floating a national loan for employment, we shall alleviate this problem only temporarily.

During the public debate many demands were put forward to change the method of work, responsibility, and behavior of everyone, and in particular members who occupy responsible duties and functions in the LC and in society. In one word, behavior and responsibility cannot be the way they were before the debate, Budimir Vukasinovic said.

In his words, within the framework of the debate, many issues and demands were raised referring to changes and supplements to the statute.

Membership and basic LC organizations frequently insist on implementing the ideological and action unity of the LCY and on the struggle against the federalization of relations in the LCY. Within this framework, Vukasinovic pointed out, what is particularly stressed is the responsibility of LC organs in the republics and provinces and their attitude to the LCY Central Committee, as well as the rights and obligations of the LCY Central Committee toward these organs. It is believed that the statute should define more precisely the application of democratic centralism, the working class composition of the LC, in particular of organs. The need to struggle against technobureaucratism, unitarism, and bureaucratism is also pointed out. The way LCY Central Committee members are elected and their responsibility, the issue of various names of organs, of the duration of the mandate, and the organizational standards of the LC were also pointed out.

We, here in the LCY Central Committee, and in republican and provincial LC committees, must provide the answers to the major ideopolitical issue of relations in the LC and in society, Mato Andric said. As is known, most severe criticisms have been directed against us. These criticisms stress most powerfully the need for greater ideological and action unity of the LC as an expression of the profound knowledge that this is the condition for fuller unity in society.

We also speak very little about who disrupts the unity of the LCY and how. As far as I know, unity is not disrupted by those who fought for socialist self-management and for the self-managing character of sociopolitical communities. But where statism has been developing and where bureaucratic relations have been developing, this has happened very often, Andric warned. These positions are recognized by particularism, egoism, one-sided politicization of individual interests that prevent the possibility of coordinating attitudes and put a brake on development as a whole.

There is quite a lot that we in the republics and provinces should be doing to more quickly overcome this.

In accepting the criticism, we also take on the obligation to eliminate more quickly the existing weaknesses and to behave more responsibly to all the measures that guarantee relations in these spheres will change more quickly. It is along these questions, too, that a resolute differentiation in the LCY is expected to take place. Should we not respect this sufficiently, we are exposing ourselves to the danger of devaluing all the positive results of the public debate.

It is my conviction, Miran Potrc said, that in the LC organs, too, there are double standards when we discuss delegate relations, either when we speak about them in principle or when the demand is made to resolve certain specific issues through delegate relations.

LC members, in particular members of the leaderships, should abandon the practice of instructing delegates and delegations about the attitudes to be adopted in small groups and aktivs having no debate in associated labor, without a public presentation of these attitudes and their substantiation. Such stands, he noted, as a rule, make the coordination of various views and interests either difficult or impossible.

Assessing yesterday's and today's debate, Potrc observed that with minor exceptions, it was marked by general assessments with which everybody agrees, or pointed to the main accents of the public debate with which everybody has been acquainted.

On the basis of such a debate, the impression can be gained that much greater unity has been achieved in the LCY Central Committee. I don't want to assess, he said, whether this is right or not, but I do know that until yesterday we still had fundamentally different views on many specific issues. What is required for the solution of topical problems are fundamental specific issues to implement the power of associated labor over income, the foreign exchange system, inflation, planning, etc. and not principled orientations.

We have not spoken in sufficiently specific terms about these specific issues today or yesterday -- at least in my view -- and have not achieved a consensus. It would, therefore, be wrong to think that with this session we have created all the conditions necessary for a more successful resolution of these issues in pracrice. But, since we have to create at least the most necessary preconditions for their more successful resolution in the future, today's Central Committee session should at least do the following:

-- Tell the party members and public clearly that our Central Committee, as well as its Presidium, bear and accept no small part of the blame and responsibility for the situation in which we are in, and;

-- confirm the sincere conviction of all Central Committee members that without greater unity in resolving specific issues, we cannot ensure greater efficiency in their implementation in practice.

Sergej Kraigher: I am sure that the commission for the conclusions has done everything it can to extract from the all-party debate everything that can be extracted so that we are on par with the tasks. I think that we should stress, Sergej Kraigher said, that they are what they are because they reflect what we are. In this respect we need not be ashamed of either ourselves or the functions that we discharge as the LCY, or of our forum. However, in view of the situation and the tasks before us, and in order that this might not sound apologetic, it is important to stress that for the time being we are still the only country in this world, the only society that discusses the specific problems it faces, on which the fate of the nation, the people, the working people, and of the working class hinge, such as they are.

The activity that follows will determine depend whether we respond and how we respond to the unanimous demands of the LC members and the Yugoslav working class expressed in the debate. It goes without saying that the LCY cannot take on the responsibility for everything. Regardless of its method of work, it cannot replace the activities and decisionmaking in relevant institutions of the system. In this respect I do, of course, agree with Comrade Planinc's attitude when she spoke of the great role of subjective forces and in particular of the LC in our system. But even then the question remaining is: On what prerequisites, in what conditions, and on the basis of which mechanisms should mobilization and development of activity of the LC and of other subjective forces of society be carried out? Should we not eliminate the weak points in the functioning of the system; should we not resolve some outstanding systemic issues? We cannot contribute to the action of subjective forces to the resolution of certain issues and resolve them successfully. It seems to me, Markovic said, that with the proposed program of work, our Central Committee has taken upon itself great responsibilities and obligations.

If anything should be changed it is the attitude that our sessions dealing with the issues we have envisaged, which are fundamental for our further development, must not end by repeating general political attitudes -- as in the past -- it has to be done. Without a reply to what and how it should be done, this demand of ours could experience the fate of all our earlier demands.

I do not advocate, Markovic stressed, improvizations or hasty solutions. What we must do is to take a resolute stand against the attitude of constant postponement, constant delays, and constant evasion of coming to grips with problems. For the sake of unity we have often postponed many solutions in order to achieve complete unanimity. For the sake of unity and peace at home, so to say, we are unable to adopt a concrete orientation, but instead aim at what is general and matter of principle. It is here that the source of our opportunism lies, as does the reason for our having to go back to questions on which we have agreed, while in fact we only appeared to agree. In this way, he said, we have raised our consensus to a higher level of principle and in this the possibility of coordination is great. However, when we reach the area of specific matters, we again raise those issues from which we wanted to run away.

If we had gotten rid of the illusion that we have an anti-inflationary program, then we should have had a new program long ago, Ivo Perisin said. If we have to get rid of the illusion about the possibility of curbing inflation, then we should also get rid of these conclusions because in many respects they are full of the struggle against inflation.

I maintain, he went on, that the Federal Executive Council, our financial institutions, and some economists have offered us, under the shield of realism, much that is not realistic.

In concluding the debate, in which we have, by proceeding from the results of the general party debate, established the directions of activities and the tasks of Communists, in particular of our Central Committee, we can say that the LCY Central Committee has manifested a high degree of responsibiluty for implementing tasks in this state of development of our socialist self-managing society, Ali Sukrija said.

The debate was a meaningful, constructive contribution to the further construction of the unity of our Central Committee and of the entire LCY. It is the key prerequisite and guarantee of ideopolitical unity in action to implement the demands made by the members and the working people expressed in the debate during the past several months and in the conclusions adopted at the session today.

The introductory report and the debate pointed out the most topical problems of the economic and social life and the tasks of the LC. On this basis, critical comments were made on the proposed conclusions and work programs of the Central Committee and suggestions for their improvement.

Perhaps the conclusions could have been even more concise and direct; their essence and real meaning do not lie in their better or worse formulation, but in our readiness to implement them consistently through the action by the members, organizations, and organs of the LC

With today's session and the adopted conclusions, we have summed up a public debate of several months in which many weaknesses in the work of the LC and its leaders have been criticized, but is strength and the ability to speak of itself openly and self-critically, as well as the readiness to resolutely eliminate the weaknesses were also confirmed.

There was a powerful declaration of the orientation for Tito's road of building a socialist self-managing society, of readiness and conviction that on this road alone, on the achievements and values of the revolutionary developments so far, and on the LCY program, our socialist self-managing and federal community can be successfully built. It is on this foundation that the power of the working class, equality, brotherhood, and unity of our nations and nationalities, the defense-capability, and the independent and nonaligned position of the country can be consolidated. The members, the working class, and all working people have confirmed their trust in the LCY as the leading ideopolitical revolutionary force of society.

It is this high degree of revolutionary working-class consciousness of Communist and working people and the declared responsibility for the situation in society that we must now, Sukrija stressed, confirm in action, in deeds, in implementing that which has been agreed on in order that we might overcome the present very complex and difficult economic situation and blaze more resolutely the trail to further, even more powerful momentum for self-managing relations in our authentic socialist democratic society.

We must approach creatively all outstanding social problems. We must intensify the processes of self-managing integration of associated labor in the whole of the country. This is the basic condition for workers, associated on the basis of self-management, to realize the dominant role in social reproduction. In this way the statist and bureaucratic forms of resistance will definitely be broken down and isolationism at every level of social organization destroyed. Particular attention must be paid to establishing direct links between the delegate system and the self-managing decision-making process in associated labor. The decisive role in this goes to leading subjective forces of society, above all to the LC. In implementing these strategic orientations, in further developing socialist self-managing relations of the production and power of the working class, we are also ensuring the speedier implementation of all the tasks laid down in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Today we must, in the full meaning of the word, ensure and implement the breadth of the revolution and set to these tasks all creative forces of society. In the present worsened international political and economic trends, it is of exceptional importance to strengthen social consciousness and on this basis develop the broadest organized activities of all social subjects and to overcome economic difficulties by relying above all on our own resources.

Therefore, Sukrija says, actional dynamism manifested in the debate must be fanned even more and the front of the struggle of the entire working class, of all working people and citizens, of all organized socialist self-managing forces in implementing the established policy and tasks, extended.

The LC can affirm itself as the revolutionary avantgarde only by acting in a concrete manner among the working class and the working people, in the self-managing and delegate system, in the Socialist Alliance as the broadest front of organized socialist self-managing forces of society. The Socialist Alliance is also the one most responsible for establishing democratic communications and the involvement of all social subjects as the integrational and cohesive force of the working class and of our multinational community. This is why it must become even more capable in the ideopolitical, organizational, and cadre sense and promote its work method and forms of activity inside the system of socialist self-management. The role of basic LC organizations must come even more to the fore in this, and leaderships, in particular municipal LC committees, must extend to them greater and more direct assistance.

The conclusions we adopted today represent the LCY action program. The entire membership has advocated these conclusions and tasks. They represent a firm obligation for all Communists, against which we have to measure ourselves from day to day and resolutely establish who is who. Therefore, we must resolutely cut down opportunism, wavering, faintheartedness, and disunity in our own ranks.

The tasks we have laid down in the conclusions must be implemented consistently and efficiently in all spheres of social and economic life and in all environments to change the situation everywhere for the better. We must be more resolute and more persistent in the struggle against statism and technobureaucratism; we must eliminate uncompromisingly the nationalistic weeds in every environment, as well as all other antisocialist and antiself-management phenomena and tendencies.

There can be no retreat! There can be no faltering! There can be no pretext of toleration of types of behavior contrary to the established policy; there can be no pretexts for half-way solutions of problems, for going back, for standing still.

The LC, Sukrija stressed, in this stage of the revolution must also confirm its strength and ability to face successfully the gravest social problems and difficulties. It can and must find the real solutions for the most complex problems; it must open prospects and blaze the trail for further development of our socialist revolution. In order to to do this it must persistently build and strengthen its ideopolitical and action unity.

We must build ideopolitical unity on all essential issues of our further social development, and it is our obligation to implement consistently the unanimously established attitudes and conclusions. This is also the most fundamental demand of the general party debate that has, as was also done at this session, stressed it clearly as a fundamental condition of the unity of our working class, of the unity of the nations and nationalities and of society as a whole, and for consistently implementing all tasks.

All members of the LCY, every basic organizations, every municipal committee, the republican and provincial committees, the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, and this Central Committee must fight day by day for such unity and constantly develop and build it through organized action.

All leaders of the LC and of our Central Committee also bear the greatest responsibility in consistently implementating the established obligations. Therefore, they must, by proceeding from the principle of democratic centralism, ensure unity of action throughout the LC and implement regular monitoring and control of implementation of tasks, as well as resolutely and quickly react to all phenomena of inconsistency in their practical implementation.

The manifest activities of the broadest party and social grass roots in the past period should, on the basis of conclusions adopted, be intensified even more so that precisely these conclusions are confirmed as a fresh mobilizing faction of the entire social commitment in the time before the next congress, as well as the period after the congress. In this respect it is also necessary for our Central Committee and its Presidium to implement their work method in order for these conclusions to be implemented consistently, efficiently, and responsibly.

The result of the general party debate and the conclusions we adopted today should represent the basis of the preparations for the 13th LCY Congress, the congresses of the republican LC's, and conferences of the provincial LC's.

We have also adopted a new work program of the LCY Central Committee that in essence corresponds to the demands made in the public debate. It envisages the discussion of a number of priority issues of our social and economic development, on which we shall adopt ideopolitical attitudes and seek solutions. What I have in mind in this context, first of all, are the issues of speedier and more efficient implementation of the tasks of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program; broader pooling of labor and resources throughout the country; expansion of the economic system, social policy, economic relations withother countries, and the foreign exchange system; smooth functioning of the political system and resolution of pressing issues; bringing down inflation and the enormous price increases; halting the drop in the standard of living; resolving the problem of unemployment; etc.

We must go before the 13th LCY Congress, as was also stressed at this session, with definite results, with a clear ideopolitical platform on the fundamental issues of society's development.

This will make it possible for us to implement more speedily and fully in the post-congress period the tasks of our further material and social development, in order that our revolution will continue to go forward on Tito's course. This was in fact the basic message and the demand of the members and of the working people, and our obligation is to continue and develop even further the working class content of the essential ideopolitical orientations and of broadly organized social activities, the pronounced socialist self-managing consciousness, and the will and the readiness of Communists, working people, and citizens to struggle resolutely to further develop our socialist self-managing society, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at the end of his speech.

Our sessions, in fact, are an expression of a stalemate position. I do not think there is enough strength even in the Central Committee Presidium to adopt a clear attitude to socialist production relations, said France Popit.

Some people think, he added, that all this is merely a vision or a philosophy, but I think it represents something on which we should all be in agreement, because from it stems our sociopolitical system and our socioeconomic system, not to mention our federal order. We have, in fact, allowed all this to be placed under a question mark and, in particular, our social self-management production relations are placed under a question mark. Are we aware of the fact that this is the basis of the continuity of our revolution? If we do not state here that this system is inviolable, then I do not know what else we can agree on and where we shall have unity in this and in our action.

Let the Presidium come to the Central Committee at long last with an assessment of the rate of consolidation of these production relations and of Communists' attitude to them. Have a look at our work organizations. Some people are saying: All right, why do we need so many of these basic organizations of associated labor? They are a hindrance. Whom do they hinder and why? Municipalities, republics? There are republics that are simply trying to liquidate the basic organizations of associated labor. I agree we should strive to pool associated labor, but we should do this on the basis of its own interests and not on the basis of party directives, of party discipline. There are examples of the latter practices. Such views exist in muncipalities, and they also exist in the republics and even in the federation. Some people think that associated labor can be pooled in this manner. Who authorized us to determine the organizational norms for associated labor?

We talk a great deal about bureaucracy, Popit said, but in general terms. Let us see where this bureaucracy is, where this bureaucratic centralism is, who its exponents are -- associated labor or Communists who hold leading offices in work organizations either in municipalities or at the republican level? I am not accusing the LC of being a bureaucracy. The latter is a specific aspect of socioeconomic relations that we have not been able to prevent by means of our warnings. The same is the situation in expanded reproduction. Who is to blame for all the investment failures? Self-management, the working class? Who made all those development plans? Were they made by the working class or by officials who are LC members?

Perhaps some people will say that the question of production relations should be discussed in the Social Council for Social Order. Perhaps it can be discussed there as well, but this is not merely a matter of form of the political system, but of the essence of our socialism. What distinguishes our socialism from real socialism or capitalism? The difference lies precisely in production relations.

Dwelling on dilemmas concerning basic organizations of associated labor, Popit said that he is alarmed by the trends aimed at liquidating the basic organizations of associated labor and turning them all into work organizations. I am against turning them into enterprises, Popit stressed, because enterprises represent a category that emerged in different social conditions.

I know that this life of ours and its complexity and the vast number of questions raised by Communists in the course of the public discussion cannot easily be fitted into the form of conclusions, Marko Djuricin stressed in his contribution to the discussion, which was submitted in writing. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make the maximum effort to ensure that the conclusions cover and reflect the public discussion as clearly as possible.

If the party grass roots have expressed dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in society, then it is quite certain that the party leadership has no cause to be pleased with itself, Josip Vrhovec said. This places one under the obligation to speak about our own work. At the 14th session we said that this was a priority theme and yet, regretabble, today we are again discussing this and have again postponed the discussion about ourselves until a future date.

I think that this is a pity and that because of this our share of the all-party discussion will not be complete and influential enough. It goes without saying that in the course of our deliberations we must define the responsibily of the LC for the conditions in which we live and for social development.

It is clear that this is not the responsibility of a party in power, a party that dictates and makes decisions about everything. However, it is not enough to state this in terms of general principles alone. We should also work all this out in practice through programs of action and through the realization of the day-to-day responsibilities of our leaders.

I think, Vrhovec said, that we must define the manner of our work and activity, the character of our social action and our ideopolitical struggle at this moment and in this concrete situation in which the country has found itself. From this must follow a step-by-step program aimed at finding a way out of the existing situation. But these steps must be visible. They must be measured, and it is our duty to measure them. If we fail to introduce this system of work in the Central Committee, I do not think that we shall be able to shoulder the historical responsibility that the LCY must shoulder as our leading revolutionary force, but instead will develop more and more the tendency to be a party in power. It goes without saying that in that way we would solve nothing and would only be opening the door to other ideologies and other solutions, some of which are already in evidence and are aggressively trying to impose themselves.

This is why the question of responsibility calls for a definite, very precise definition to enable us to eliminate any lack of clarity and disagreements in this connection.

Everything that the debate on the proposed conclusions has yielded should be included in the preparations for the 13th congress, Nijaz Dizdarevic said. But the most important task, he added, is that we leave this session with the resolve to make a breakthrough in at least some of the most important issues in order to implement them.

Dizarevic then spoke about the problem of federalization of the party that, he said, is reflected above all in the LCY Central Committee. It emerged after the Ninth LCY Congress, which was a congress of democratization and reorganization of the LC.

Dizdarevic then spoke about the forces that are postponing any kind of change. I maintain that they also exist here in the Central Committee. Were it not so changes in the foreign exchange system or in the planning law would not so often have to be postponed.

In Dizdarevic's view the reason it has been so difficult to set in train a critical debate on the situation in the LC has not been sufficiently explained. He believes this is due to a lack of democracy and bureaucratization in society and in the LC, particularly, because the attitude contained in the statute that says "a member of the LC cannot be called to political account for views he presents in the basic organization," has not been implemented.

There has been frequent suppression of criticism both in society and in the LC. There have been sanctions against those who criticize, and there has been bureaucratic arbitrariness. We as the LC have not always consistently defended these principles throughout the years, and thus we also faced this as a problem when we wanted to develop a critical debate in the LC. He pointed out that the least criticism had been directed toward republican central committees and provincial committees of the LC. This is something one should think about and see whether this is not also the result of such a concept in the Central Committee, Nijaz Dizdarevic said. [Passage indistinct]

The workers' demand to this Central Committee to state openly, not only who is to blame for the present situation but above all, where one can find a way out of such a situation is natural. Concrete, efficient action is demanded because the patience, in particular of those living on the border of social subsistence, has been seriously undermined. Therefore, one hears very often in the debate that "proletarians and millionaires cannot be in the same party," they do not act from the same ideological positions, they have no common tongue, and therefore, they do not understand one another.

From the many questions and tasks raised in the debate it is necessary to extract those that should be urgently dealt with. This group includes the adoption of relevant measures of economic policy in particular in the field of prices, in the foreign exchange system and the credit-monetary policy, Drago Sporanac said.

It is not the first time that the LC membership, those broadest LC grass roots, have demonstrated exceptional openness with regard to all issues and problems, but it should be the last time that we turn a deaf ear to much of what we have heard in the public debate, Slavojka Sultanovic said.

It seems to me that we do not match the openness we have rightly demanded, nor receive with openness the criticisms on our own weaknesses that the grass roots rightly demand from us.

Many of the conclusions we shall adopt will be very good, very militant, and will spur us into action. But who will implement them, and how, is a question to be answered by the LCY Central Committee.

Should we continue to work before, sticking only to matters of principle and waiting a long time for our agreements, then these conclusions will be only another addition to the lengthy list of that which we have not respected and consistently implemented. In this way we shall dilute the openness, the support and the political mood of the working people. [Passage indistinct]

Press Conference Held

LD080049 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade [no date as received] -- Jure Bilic and Hamdija Pozderac, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held talks this evening at the International Press Center with foreign journalists accredited in Belgrade. The reason for the 3-hour meeting was the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee and the conclusions adopted on the implementation of the leading role of the LCY and the strengthening of its ideological and action unity.

The greatest value of the all-party debates and of the 16th plenum is the fact that, despite very severe criticism of and even pronounced dissatisfaction with the situation in the LCY and in society, they have strongly confirmed the foundations and values of this revolution, Bilic said. We look upon all the criticisms as a wish to implement more consistently and more efficiently the socialist self-managing path which we charted with Tito.

Pozderac said that those who had expected this Central Committee session to be historical were not right because there was no need for it to be. We have not established a new strategy of our development, he said, yet the 16th session was different from the previous ones because of its openness and its critical and self-critical spirit. I think that no Central Committee session has had so much criticism voiced at the expense of the LCY -- even of the Central Committee and its Presidium. In this respect, the latest session of the Central Committee was on a part with the 8-month all-party debate. However, we will assess the real value of the 16th session and the conclusions adopted only through action, Pozderac said.

Bilic and Pozderac replied to questions by numerous foreign journalists.

PRESIDENCY DEBATES USES OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY

LD072306 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG) -- Today's SFRY Presidency session was chaired by President Veselin Djuranovic. On the basis of a report submitted by the Federal Executive Council, the session discussed current issues concerning implementation of the program for the development of nuclear energy and the use of nuclear technology, as well as the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The SFRY Presidency pointed out the need to combine and intensify efforts by all responsible factors -- organizations of associated labor, scientific and professional institutions, and sociopolitical communities -- to realize, as consistently as possible, the conclusions adopted on this issue earlier by the SFRY Presidency.

The need to speed up work on establishing the concept and adoption of the Long-Term Program for the development and use of Nuclear Technology in our country was pointed out. In this connection, Yugoslavia's interest is demonstrated by organized cooperation with nonaligned and developing countries, as well as with developed countries, that are ready for equal relations in the development and comprehensive use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

The report on the official visit Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere will soon pay to Yugoslavia was also adopted.